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The Loggia: Renaissance Revival of Ancient Roman Villa Ideology as Manifest in a Liminal Space

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Table of Contents

Introduction

By candlelight, forks and knives of silver and gold clink on majolica tableware. Guests sip wine and listen to stories of the host's most recent travels. Above the festivities, fecund fruits droop from garlands (fig. 1). The central space of Agostino Chigi's Roman villa, the Loggia of Psyche is named for Raphael's elaborately designed frescoes of a mythological narrative and sets the scene for the banquet affair. (fig. 2). Festoons of *frutte e verdure* frame the painted figures and provide a bountiful and, in some cases, phallic decoration for the wealthy patron's loggia, which opens on the northern side to his similarly opulent and choreographed garden. Agostino Chigi's loggia**,** c.1515, represents the fruition of such an indoor-outdoor space for festival and leisure in villa life. Previously, present in both public and private architecture, the loggia is a transitional space that brings the outside inside. The structure, supported by arches or columns, is an inset and open gallery, sometimes elevated on the second story, but more often on the ground level, allowing easy access from the manmade into the natural world.

Agostino Chigi's sixteenth-century villa loggia did not spontaneously spring up from the banks of the Tiber on its own, but instead developed from the influence and knowledge of preceding villas in Tuscany. These villas themselves had already incorporated inspiration from the Ancient Roman type, medieval civic spaces, and Renaissance palaces. In Renaissance Italy, the loggia evolved from a public to a private space, from a place for commerce to a place for leisure. Once established in the city house, it soon entered the country estate. In both city and country architecture, the loggia signaled a reduction of threat and danger; residences no longer required fortification.

Vitruvius distinguishes the country *villa* from the urban home, the *domus*.[1] The value of villa life has endured since the late second-century Republican Rome (c. 100 BCE) when rich urbanites first sought a separate country escape. The villa and the luxurious culture surrounding it fostered an epicurean ideology that originated in the city and romanticized a rural, yet tailored, landscape and lifestyle. The Roman country home became a destination for leisure and delight. Many wealthy Romans lived in sprawling villas in the countryside in the Republican period. Some of these belonged to landowners who lived in them not to entertain and relax, but to work their farms and vineyards. Others were magnificent architectural complexes decorated with sculpture and paintings, and embellished with elaborate gardens.[2] The unique first-century B.C. treatise on architecture—written by the Roman architect—was valued by Renaissance humanists for its authenticity and practicality, however, the text was not fully understood. Also, most Roman architecture known to the Renaissance was built after Vitruvius, hence not discussed by him.[3] The patrons and their architects and artists did their best to decode the text and construct buildings from it.

Aristocratic Romans pursued *negotium,* or commerce, in town and *otium*, or active relaxation, in the country. During the Renaissance, the wealthy, humanist-educated patrons of Florence and Rome revived these classical ideals from texts and a limited understanding

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[1] Vitruvius devoted Book V to public architecture, the elements of which facilitate city function, and Book VI to private buildings, the construction of symmetry and order for the individual. Vitruvius Pollio. *Ten Books on Architecture*. tr. Ingrid D. Rowland. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 82.

[2] Nancy H. and Andrew Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine.* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1991), 67.

[3] Marvin Trachtenberg and Isabelle Hyman, *Architecture: From Prehistory to Postmodernity* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 2002), 283.

of the ancient architectural form.[4] These patrons and architects, inspired by their studies, invented the villa loggia, a liminal space, which this paper argues evolves into an emblem of Renaissance suburban villa life. The ancient villa did not often have a loggia, but with this innovation, the Renaissance patron and architect created a perfect formal embodiment of villa life. The villa and loggia are neither fully rural nor urban, instead existing in both city and country as public and private sphere. The suburban villa is a conglomeration of city and country life, where reality and fantasy meet, and the loggia, which incorporates interior and exterior, manifests the dichotomy of a country estate, near the city and often used business and leisure.[5]

Villas from antiquity forward have incorporated elements of nature into their design, whether on a grand scale like that of Hadrian's villa estate at Tivoli or in a lesser fashion as an enclosed space behind the residence.[6] These ancient landscapes, however, were largely unknown in the Renaissance. While Vitruvius focused only on villa architecture, other ancient texts instructed the Renaissance patron and artists on nature. Roman architecture's *tabernae* provides a similarity to the Renaissance loggias used for *negotium;* the space is a single-room inlaid shop, covered by a barrel vault.[7] In his letters, Pliny the Younger writes of the Ancient Roman desire to escape to a country retreat, both

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[4] Ancient texts like Vitruvius were studied and inspired a great portion of medieval and renaissance architecture, including the villa. Interpretations of Vitruvius' architectural treatise were implemented into public and private building. It was not until later, when excavation of Ancient Roman dwellings began, that Vitruvius' words materialized into spaces.

[5] James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton: Princeton, University Press, 1979).

[6] Views and gardens were just as equally valued, if not more, in antiquity. Based on Pliny's villa on Lake Como, and the country homes of Imperial Rome, the ancients quite enjoyed the splendor of natural surroundings. James S. Ackerman, The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Homes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 52.

[7] Trachtenberg and Hyman 2002, 31.

peaceful and civilized, away from the hectic business-oriented bustle of Rome.[8] These letters, coupled with Vitruvius' architectural definition cited above, inspired the mid-fifteenth century reemergence of the type into the sixteenth-century with Renaissance patrons' and artists' actualized interpretations. Leon Battista Alberti's contemporary consideration of the villa in *De Re Aedificatoria* (1452) provides an extended commentary on Vitruvius, an updated Renaissance understanding of the art of building.[9]

Neither Vitruvius, Pliny, nor Alberti make any mention of a loggia. Rather, the artists and patrons of Renaissance villas seem to have adapted the space from urban prototypes to better integrate the architecture with the landscape. Previously, in the city, the loggia had accommodated commerce. By moving this space to a villa setting, the Renaissance humanist also added some *negotium* to his *otium.* Somewhat unbeknownst to these patrons, this value stems from the Ancient Roman domus, another focal point of the updated Renaissance villa type.

This project examines the functional and symbolic development of the loggia in Florence and Rome to argue that its shift from public economic space to private banquet escape evolved through the city house and several generations of villa before reaching maturity. In considering this development, the public loggia, exemplified by the Florentine Loggia dei Priori of the early *quattrocento,* defines the original use of this architectural

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[8] Peter Murray, *Architecture of the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1971), 224.

[9] Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria (On the Art of Building in Ten Books*) Tr. J Rykwert (N. Leach, and R. Tavernor. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988). Alina A. Payne, The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999),**72-3.**

space, while the Palazzo Davizzi illustrates its shift into the domestic sphere.[10] Next, Medici commissions in and around Florence illustrate the fifteenth-century translocation of the loggia from palazzo to villa. The study of the Medici villas argues that a shift in style from medieval to Renaissance rural home, from fortified c*astello* to elegant villa, is integrally linked to the invention of the country loggia. This exploration finally moves to Rome where Agostino Chigi's villa and loggia creates a site perfect for mixing business and pleasure. Raised in neighboring Siena, in a rival banking family, Chigi would have known the Medici villas.

The progression of the loggia in this study travels from the city of Florence, to the Tuscan countryside, and culminates on the outskirts of Rome. In Renaissance Florence, at the same time, the ideal of Republican life, of public service and duty, gave way to an aristocratic oligarchy concerned with the individual, whether in city or in country.[11] The Medici spearheaded both this political shift and the concomitant rise of the villa, but their Sienese rival, Agostino Chigi would take their innovations and mix them to commission the most deluxe villa to date with a delineated loggia as the heart of the complex.

In Chapter I, "Seeds: The *Quattrocentro* Florentine Loggia and its Domestication," I explore the Renaissance loggia and its shift from a completely public space into the private realm. In the first three examples, the loggia maintains a public life, even when it transfers to an individual patron's *palazzo.* The Loggia dei Priori in Florence's Piazza della Signoria, by the fifteenth century, was a site for business transactions and governmental duties. (fig.

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[10] More widely known as the Loggia dei Lanzi, for the intentions of this project, the space is referred to as the Loggia dei Priori, the name it had during the *quattrocento.* The same applies for Palazzo Davizzi, named for its later patron, Davanzati.

[11] David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome.* (Princeton: Princeton, University Press, 1979), 13.

3) It was an urban center associated with *negotium.* The Palazzo Davizzi, built for the Davizzi family in the fourteenth-century, exemplifies the loggia's entrance to the domestic residence. (fig. 4) As in the Ancient Roman domus, where business was conducted on a regular basis in shops along the façade, the first story loggia in the residential sphere created the same context in Renaissance Florence. Located on the first story, it allowed client meetings without letting them into the house, maintaining a sphere of privacy. This chapter closes with Michelozzo's Palazzo Medici, which incorporates the loggia into one corner of the palace exterior and provides a transition to the next chapter. (fig. 5)

The next chapter, "Saplings: The Ville dei Medici around Florence," uses the villas of the most powerful family in *quattrocento* and *cinquecento* Florence to understand how their architects, beginning with Michelozzo, adapted this commercial space to leisure in their villas. Villas at Careggi, Fiesole, and Poggio a Caiano provide architectural evidence for the evolving role of the loggia within villa architecture (fig. 6, 7, & 8). Cosimo de' Medici at Careggi and Giovanni de' Medici at Fiesole sought the designs of family architect Michelozzo Michelozzi to expand their country residences. The innovations made by the Medici patrons and Michelozzo, especially the villa loggias, illuminate the architectural shift from medieval fortified form to Renaissance open villa, while the rejection of the loggia by Lorenzo de'Medici and Giuliano da Sangallo at Poggio a Caiano establishes that this space was not yet viewed as essential.Poggio a Caiano contributes to the conversation by adding a visual program of fresco to an indoor-outdoor liminal space.

Finally, in the closing chapter: "Fruition: The Villa Chigi in Rome," I analyze how the worlds of interior and exterior garden life converge in the elaborately decorated loggia. At center of the back façade, the frescoed Loggia di Psyche opens toward a closed garden. The

loggia at Villa Chigi fuses the preceding Medici villas of Tuscany, particularly Fiesole and Poggio a Caiano (fig. 9) I contextualize Agostino Chigi, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Raphael's collaborative villa in the politics of papal banking to argue that the integration of Medici innovations enabled Agostino Chigi to merge his *negotium* and *otium,* as he aimed to win the financial favor of a Medici, Giovanni, Lorenzo's son, now a Pope, not a banker.[12]

Whether in the Tuscan countryside or immediately outside the walls of Rome, the loggia consistently fuses the indoor with the outdoor, the private with the public, and the manmade with the natural. As such, the space embodies the essence of Renaissance villa culture. After its first full formulation in Villa Chigi, the loggia becomes a mainstay of Italian villa design.

My work builds on that of several scholars who have closely dissected the fantastic world of the Renaissance villa and have noted that the loggia acts as a transitional space. This text, however, is the first to focus entirely on the evoking form and function of the loggia. Of the scholars read for the study, James S. Ackerman is the primary player. Ackerman's immeasurable knowledge on the history and the trajectory of villa life and culture over time inspired this project. Ackerman's scholarship introduced me to the ancient ideas and ideals of *negotium* and *otium*.[13] This scholar provides a history rooted in Ancient Rome, which then advances to the Florentine Medici villa type. Ackerman's argument surpasses period and place, however, and visits seventeenth-century England as

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[12] Renaissance popes worked with private financiers to advance the papacy's funds. The Medici and Chigi families both served this purpose. Often, popes were tied to their financiers with loans and commissions.Francesco Guidi Bruscoli."*Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome: Benvenuto Olivieri and Paul III, 1534–1549*." *Studies in Banking and Financial History* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), p. xxviii, 313.

[13] James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 40.

well as the United States from the eighteenth-century forward, to demonstrate the continuation of villa life and culture globally. Early in his text he acknowledges the loggia: "The compact villa tended to acquire a loggia, along its façade, typically framed in Roman examples between two projecting blocks or towers."[14] The basis of the third chapter and the original motivation for this project, The Villa Farnesina (referred to as Villa Chigi hereafter) comes to mind via Ackerman's description of the loggia.

Second only to James Ackerman, David Coffin's *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* helped me understand the transition from the *quattrocento* villa into the *cinquecento* estate.[15] Coffin focuses on the villa in Renaissance Rome and in his chapter, "Villeggiatura: Profane and Papal," notes the importance of the loggia: "If any architectural feature characterizes the villa, it is the loggia. Generally at the ground-floor level, it serves as a link between the enclosed habitation and the adjacent gardens."[16] Though both scholars note the importance of the loggia to the Renaissance villa, neither Ackerman nor Coffin go further to explore the purpose and relevance of the loggia in the Renaissance villa. Collectively, John M. Najemy's *A History of Florence: 1200-1575,* Ludwig H. Heydenreich's *Architecture in Italy 1400-1500*, Wolfgang Lotz's *Architecture in Italy 1500-1600*, and James Cleugh's *The Medici: A Tale of Fifteen Generations* trace a historical, architectural, and societal background of the period, from late-medieval Florence to thriving Renaissance Rome which also inform this text.[17] Also, Ludwig von Pastor's collection of the *History of the Popes* becomes an important text for the project, on the loggia's move into Rome.[18]

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[14] Ackerman 1990, 20.
[15] Coffin 1979, 12.
[16] Coffin 1979, 12.
[17] *John M. Najemy,* A History of Florence: 1200-1575 (West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2008). Ludwig H. Heydenreich, *Architecture in Italy 1400-1500* (New Haven and London: Yale University

In addition to Ackerman and Coffin, each chapter relies on scholarship according to each building, its patron, architect, and in later cases, artists. The main texts used in this first chapter, on the loggia as a place for business and mercantile affairs, are Marvin Trachtenberg's *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence* and chapters seven and eight in Trachtenberg and Isabella Hyman's *Architecture: From Prehistory to Postmodernity.* In the glossary of their text, Trachtenberg and Hyman define the loggia as an arcade supported by piers or columns, open on one side at least, either part of a building as a porch or a separate structure. My argument partially contrasts with their definition: in Italian, *loggia* is loosely used to describe a patio or porch, as Trachtenberg and Hyman establish, however, in this project, the *quattrocento* and *cinquecento* loggia is not synonymous with a porch or portico. Rather, in the cases presented here, the loggia is inset in the block of the building, with a three-five bay arcade or colonnade.

Further, Trachtenberg's extensive scholarship on the Piazza della Signoria and the buildings within provides great support for the argument.[19] Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani's writing on *Palazzo Davanzati: A House of Medieval Florence* tracks the commission and history of the medieval mansion and devotes a section specifically to main level loggia.[20]

Press, 1996). Wolfgang Lotz, *Architecture in Italy.* 1500-1600 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). James Cleugh, *The Medici:* A Tale of Fifteen Generations (New York: Dorset Press, 1975).
[18] Ludwig von Pastor, . *The History of the Popes, From the Close of the Middle Ages.* Vol. VI and VIII. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1908.
[19]Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Marvin Trachtenberg and Isabelle Hyman, *Architecture: From Prehistory to Postmodernity.* Ch. 7 & 8. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 2002)
[20] Maria Grazia Vaccari, *Palazzo Davanzati: A House of Medieval Florence* (Florence: Giunti Editore S.p.A, 2011).

The Tuscan villas of the Medici family revived ancient villa ideology. In the second chapter, the works of Ackerman and Coffin once more play a crucial role, now joined by Amanda Lillie. Lillie delivers a detailed account of the villas of Florence in her *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century.*[21] Her analysis of the *cinquecento* villa in and around the Tuscan city provides a landscape of the period in architectural, socio-economic and cultural context.

Agostino Chigi's *villa suburbana* embodies the bounty of the Renaissance patron in *cinquecento* Rome*.* Elsa Gerlini's *Villa Farnesina alla Lungara Roma* are equally compelling sources which entirely support this thesis.[22] Both scholars analyze the architect, patron, and artists. Valuable texts by Ingrid Rowland provide further insight into the history and politics of the Roman Renaissance and its ramifications for Villa Chigi. Her analysis highlights the status of the Medici and presents Agostino Chigi's ambition to rival the famous Florentines.[23] Rowland's scholarship on the sixteenth century lends itself perfectly to my exploration of Agostino Chigi's lavish loggia banquets and their meaning.

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[21] Amanda Lillie, *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century: An Architectural and Social History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[22] Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *La Villa Farnesina a Roma; The Villa Farnesina in Rome* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2003); Elsa Gerlini, *Villa Farnesina alla Lungara Roma.* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1996)
[23] Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Ingrid D. Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar the Things Which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi" (*Renaissance Quarterly* 39.4, Winter 1986).

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Chapter I | Seeds: The *Quattrocento* Florentine Loggia and its Domestication

"In the fourteenth century, [the loggia] was a ceremonial place for hearing cases of law or for signing documents. Secular loggie took a variety of forms. They could have one, two, three, or more bays. They could be vaulted, or not. What they had in common was a configuration that allowed events taking place within them to be visible from a space outside. [...] Every Florentine new town was required to have a loggia for use by the city's officer."[24]

At midday, the piazza is crowded with Florentine citizens. A clamor hovers over the spectators of the ceremony. The golden sun tucks behind the clouds for a brief moment and a wind streams through the bays of the loggia toward the Palazzo Vecchio. With the temperate air and the events taking place, the Medici prince seizes the opportunity, to invite his colleagues to observe the ceremonial activities from above, on the reinforced roof of the Loggia dei Priori. Atop the public loggia, looking down on the Piazza della Signoria, the Medici patriarch asserts his dominion over the Florentine republic.[25]

By the end of the fourteenth century, Florence maintained the spirit of the Middle Ages and embraced the growing significance of the Ancient classical past; this juxtaposition, or rather marriage of the two, set the stage for the Tuscan city as the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance.[26] Major construction sites appeared all over the city already by the late thirteenth and early-mid fourteenth century. Several additions to the fabric of the city, especially public and ecclesiastical buildings were erected. After the Great Fire of 1304, an event that burned down the wooden architecture of the city, and later, the

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[24] David Friedman, *Florentine New Towns: Urban Design in the Late Middle Ages*. (Cambridge, MA: The Architectural History Foundation and The MIT Press, 1988),189.

[25] After the *cinquecento* construction of the Uffizi (1560-1581) at the rear of the loggia, the roof was modified by Bernardo Buontalenti to function as a terrace for the Medici princes to observe events and ceremonies in the piazza from above the public. Guido Zucconi *Florence: An Architectural Guide*, (Verona: Arsenale Editrice, 1995.) While this chapter deals with the quattrocento, this Medici moment foreshadows what is to come.

[26] Marvin Trachtenberg and Isabelle Hyman. *Architecture: From Prehistory to Postmodernity,* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002), 268-9.

Great Flood of 1333, the updated and recovered Florence began building in stone, a sturdier material of the Renaissance.[27] Stone enabled the architecture of the city to dramatically advance with impressive public and residential structures.[28] Into this setting, at the cusp of the *quattrocento,* the loggia germinated in Florence as a space for public assembly, commerce, and negotiation. Governmental officials, guilds of merchants, elite or otherwise, and private patrons implemented the architectural structure of the loggia into the urban layout of Florence.[29] Three Florentine structures in particular, the Loggia dei Priori (c. 1376-82), Palazzo Davizzi (c. 1370), and the Palazzo Medici (1444-48), represent the trajectory of the loggia's placement from an entirely public zone for governmental use to a conflation of the public and private sphere as a center for trade and commerce attached to the family residence. (fig. 3, 4, & 5) The emergence of the loggia in the urban center establishes the budding of the Renaissance and its Republican mercantile ideals. It appeared throughout urban centers as a secular place to convene.[30] An architectural manifestation of both Republican collection and individual business, the loggia witnesses a shift from a purely public space for congregation to a private zone for business transaction in the *quattrocento.*

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[27]John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence: 1200-1575* (West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 106.

[28] An elevated standard for building came with stone, as more and more *trecento* houses and palaces featured a rusticated stone façade. Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 312.

[29] The rise of the merchant class was prominent in Florence; Obedient to the Papacy, the Guelf city of Florence carried economic leadership among its inhabitants in a merchant oligarchy: Peter Murray, *Architecture of the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1971), 63.

[30] The Loggia dei Priori, the ceremonial shelter adjacent to the Florentine town hall, was just such a structure. A more modest example is the loggia in front of the government palace in Certaldo, a town that, like Scarperia, was a Florentine provincial capital. Friedman 1988, 189.

The Loggia dei Priori (1376-82) stands at the southern end of the centrally located Piazza della Signoria.[31] Simone di Francesco Talenti (c.1330/5–after 1383), principal architect on the project, erected the open and arcaded structure for the public.[32] Most commonly recognized as assigned to Andrea di Cione di Arcangelo, known more widely as Orcagna, (c. 1308- August 25, 1368) for the design, the architect died before seeing the loggia materialize, almost a decade later.[33] Son to prominent Florentine architect Francesco Talenti (1305-post 1369), Simone di Francesco Talenti and Benci di Cione (1337-1381) began work on the loggia according to the designs of Orcagna in 1376, after the demolition of several houses in the piazza.[34]Loggia dei Priori is comprised of wide and round arches of sandstone. The construction of the monument offers an open design in its liminal quality, as a border piece to the piazza. Complete with five arches, three on the facade and two on either end as well as a high vaulted ceiling, the loggia is a vivid example of the unique Florentine interpretation of the Gothic merging into the classicizing Renaissance. (fig. 3 & 11)

The loggia name in the fourteenth century, "*dei Priori*," translates from the Italian to "of the Priors," which in ecclesiastical terminology means superior.[35] In fact, the loggia's original function was as a zone to assemble and conduct public ceremonies, such as the

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[31] Originally named Loggia dei Priori, the structure is also sometimes referred to as the Loggia della Signoria or Loggia di Orcagna. Today, the famous Florentine loggia bears the name of Loggia dei Lanzi, which derives from the reign of Grand Duke Cosimo I (1389-1464). It was used to house Cosimo's formidable landsknechts or Lanzichenecchi or Lanzi, as a Lancers' Guardroom. The Lanzi were of German or Swiss descent.

[32] Simone's father, Francesco Talenti, was responsible for work in Florence such as the Campanile.

[33] Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architetti, Volume 1* (Firenze: G.C. Sansoni 1906), 609.

[34] Scholars list an assortment of other notable artists and architects who could have had a hand in the design and construction of the Loggia dei Priori including but not limited to Taddeo Ristori and Jacopo di Sione, etc. Later, Lorenzo di Filippo and Giovanni Fetti follow the original trio on the construction and adornment of the public loggia.

[35] "Priors," the superiors, were a seat of Florentine government (see next footnote)

swearing of noblemen into the office of *Gonfaloniere* and the *Prior*i.[36] The open and arcuated style of the structure allowed for a mass audience to witness events occurring within the space. In the late fourteenth century, at the time of its completion, Loggia dei Priori acted as such—an outdoor area for town magistrates, the *priori* and *gonfaloniere di giustizia* to conduct governmental duties such as sign documents and hold court. A stark contrast to its neighbor, Palazzo Vecchio, the completely fortified and splendidly decorated thirteenth-century federal building, the open-air Loggia dei Priori looks out onto the Piazza, vulnerable in its grandiosity. Its confident neighbor, the Palazzo, contrasts with this open-air style. (fig. 10) At the time of its conception, the loggia functioned as a grand civic stage.[37]

The Piazza della Signoria is a grand opening in the well ordered but congested Florentine landscape, intended to showcase the Palazzo Vecchio (1299-1315) the tallest and most impressive building in the square. (fig. 11) The colossal tower that extends up from the town hall asserts a gothic dynamism over the Palazzo. The piazza is a fusion of architectural interests, welcoming the new style while maintaining the old in the heart of Florence.[38] While the open space serves this purpose, the magnificence of the L-shaped piazza, directly south of the Piazza del Duomo and north of the Arno, is in and of itself a monument.[39] Perpendicular to the Palazzo Vecchio, the Loggia dei Priori aligns

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[36] Gonfaloniere of Justice (*Gonfaloniere di Giustizia*) was one of nine citizens selected by drawing lots every two months, who formed the government or Signoria. This parliament is set up of eight priors and the gonfaloniere. As Gonfaloniere of Justice, he was the temporary standard-bearer of Florence as well as custodian of the city's banner, which was displayed from the yardarm of a portable cross. Along with the voting rights of the other Priori, he was also in charge of the internal security forces and the maintenance of public order. Najemy 2008, 84-5.

[37] Marvin Trachtenberg 1997, 106-7.

[38] Several of the buildings and interconnecting street networks predate the Renaissance in Florence. Therefore, these enterprises of the *trecento* and early *quattrocento* ground the city in the gothic: Trachtenberg, 1997, 18.

[39] Trachtenberg 1997, 88.

proportionately with the magistrate building. Government offices were adjacent to the Loggia in the Palazzo Vecchio, the Florentine town hall. The proportion of these two structures demonstrate the relationship one had to the other in the piazza.

Facing the loggia from the center of the Piazza della Signoria, all arches open like *braccie* to create bays within the structure for easy access with the exception of the far right bay, which hits the building beside the loggia. Pillars support the arches and roof of the loggia. Capitals adorned with some foliage complete the exterior. (fig. 12) Talenti added the leafy capital on the corner pilaster in 1379. He most likely also carved the plant-decorated keystones at the intersection of the internal ribs. The roof of the loggia was built within the year of 1381. The interior of the ceiling is composed of cross vaults, which compliment the arches and support the parapet of the terrace.[40] An open rectangular block made up of five bays, the loggia distinguishes itself architecturally from the closed block architecture of surrounding buildings.[41] Yet, the Loggia dei Priori still maintains allegiance to the most prominent and mostly fortified building in the piazza.

Moreover, the walls of the Loggia dei Priori were and remain embellished with inlay and relief. Between the arches on the loggia's façade and beneath the parapet are trefoils of the *Virtù,* the Virtues. Ensconced into the wall of the façade, and backed by deep blue and golden stars, the virtues were carved from 1384-1389. Designed by Agnolo Gaddi (c.1350-1396), the virtues, which from left to right consist of Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, and

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[40] Alessandro Cruciani, *Firenze e Dintorni: Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano* (Milano: Touring Club Italiano, 1974), 117.

[41] It remains speculated as to who exactly constructed the large round arches on the front of the loggia, facing the piazza.

Prudence, speak to the principles and ideals the Florentine noble class.[42] (fig. 13) V*irtù*, from the Latin *virtus,* carries moral meaning. However, in *tre-* to *quattrocento* Florence, this theme on the loggia's facade indicated ideals such as worth, excellence, capacity, strength, vigor, and the like. *Virtue* is one of Niccolò Machiavelli's most characteristic words.[43] The presence of these figures atop the Loggia dei Priori emphasizes the priorities of Florence at this time, a mercantile oligarchy.[44] On important occasions, the walls of the loggia were adorned with tapestries. All the while, with its arcuated construction, the loggia provided a welcomed breath in the closed-off piazza.

The immense, triple-arched, compliments the closed, fortified bulk of the Palazzo Vecchio, each of its main stories is over thirty feet high, rusticated stonework is of antique derivation and civic symbolism, which recalls the precinct walls of Rome's Forum of Augustus.

The small distance between the Loggia dei Priori and Palazzo Vecchio matches the measurements of the loggia's three existing bays. In spacing, a fourth bay is therefore constructed, between the two.[45] The façade of the loggia and the sidewall of the rusticated palazzo align on the grid of the city block.[46] (fig. 14, 14a) Entrance into this additional bay, however, does meet a back wall like those on the actual rectangular form of the loggia. Instead, it extends toward the Arno, exiting the Piazza. The exposed, indefensible

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[42] Temperance, by Jacopo di Pietro Guidi; Justice and Prudence by Giovanni d' Ambrogio, in the side, Hope and Faith (the head is attached to a remake of Donatello) and Character by Jacopo di Pietro Guidi. Alessandro Cruciani 1974, 117.

[43] Niccolò Machiavelli, tr. Allan H. Gilbert, *The Prince*. (New York: Hendricks House Inc., 1964), 95. Virginia Cox, The Renaissance dialogue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 52-3.

[44] Peter Murray 1971, 63.

[45] Trachtenberg, 1997. 128.

[46] Ludwig H. Heydenreich, *Architecture in Italy 1400-1500* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 27.

construction of the Loggia parallels the confident mood of the city in the late fourteenth century, a nascent step toward the fertile Florentine *quattrocento.* In doing so, the Loggia dei Priori references the civic monuments of Imperial Rome, with its proportional architecture, its rounded arches, and right angles**.** The Loggia's purpose as a Republican center for assembly continues to evoke qualities of Ancient Rome.

With large round arches rather than pointed arches, the Loggia dei Priori preserves the simplicity and monumentality of classical architecture, a step away from the gothic medieval toward the classical Renaissance. Set within the municipal zone, the loggia commands authority with its scale and governmental role, yet it also conveys a delicate quality in its exposure to the air and elements.[47] With its massive proportions, three arches on its façade and an elevated vaulted ceiling, the Loggia dei Priori commanded the southern end of the piazza. The republic of Florence was merchant-dominated. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, traders and merchants functioned as a giant part of the economy and the state. [48]

Not far from the civic center of the Loggia dei Priori, the architectural form of the loggia appears in its next Florentine manifestation at the Palazzo Davizzi (c. after 1333-

[47] The Loggia dei Priori or Loggia dei Lanzi, functions in modern day as an open gallery, sculpture museum. An extension of the Uffizi, the loggia in the heart of Florence remains for public use.
[48] Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press Inc, 1980), 19.

before 1349).[49] (fig. 15) This urban residence, on via Porta Rossa, was nestled among a labyrinth of narrow streets, homes, and storefronts, most of which were tower houses.[50]

Commissioned by the Davizzi family in the late fourteenth century, between the great flood of 1333 and the family's readmittance into the city from Avignon in 1349, the building was a four-story urban residence.[51] Assembled by the bringing together two medieval buildings, the structure merged into one and highlighted the consolidation of wealth in Renaissance Florence and the urban residence, such as the Palazzo Davizzi, emerged as a symbol for civic and familial pride, as well as wealth and honor. (fig. 4) The fourteenth century Palazzo Davizzi demonstrates the transition of the loggia from public to private space in Florence.

Palazzo Davizzi was one of several home businesses in the late fourteenth century. A family in the forefront of the *lana* (wool) guild and banking, the Davizzi built their tower-house mansion in the Sesto District of Florence. Practically every family of the *Popolo Minuto* lived above their business in a somewhat fortified building.[52] (fig. 15) The loggia at street level functioned as the place of business. Rather than a fortified entrance door,. public business was conducted through the three bays of the loggia at Palazzo Davizzi,

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[49] Palazzo Davizzi later named and referred to today as the Palazzo Davanzati. A lineage of Davizzi resided in the palazzo through the fifteenth century, but it was sold in 1516, refurbished, and the Davanzati family lived in the tower-house, now with an uppermost storey roof terrace and their coat of arms on the building, for two and a half centuries into the early-nineteenth century: Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani, Maria Grazia Vaccari, ed. *Palazzo Davanzati: A House of Medieval Florence* (Florence: Giunti Editore S.p.A, 2011), 8.

[50] Later, the area in front of the palazzo, extends onto a square, void of the once claustrophobic layout.

[51] In the sixteenth century, Davanzati adds an additional top storey, the construction of a colonnaded terrace, reminiscent to certain loggias on rural villas i.e. the loggia at Villa Careggi di Medici. (Palazzo Davanzati on The Museums of Florence)

[52] *Popolo Minuto:* "the little people; the minute populus; those with little to no political power. Peter Murray*, The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 64.

while the private sphere was directed upstairs, hidden away. The loggia at Palazzo Davizzi was embedded into the building's quadrangular architecture, as the *piano nobile.* (fig. 16)

On the ground level of the fortified and rusticated home of the Davizzi family, three equally symmetrical and very slightly pointed arches opened onto the smallest yet most important section of the urban residence, the family business. Small mezzanine windows rest above the arched bays.[53] Upon entrance into the loggia, the floor of the space is laid brick. In a herringbone-like pattern, also known as *Opus spicatum*, which translates "spiked work," the design employed here is Ancient Roman and medieval masonry technique of laying stone. Actively or not, the loggia of the Davizzi family evokes antiquity. (fig. 16) Above, the exterior arches enter and branch out into three spans of a cross-vaulted ceiling. On the back wall, the Davizzi coats of arms are painted in crimson and gold.[54] (fig. 17)

The loggia carried the weight of the stories above it both literally and figuratively, as the structure stands at the base of the tower-house and provides the financial means for the family. The Palazzo Davizzi represents an intermediate modification of the fortified, vertical structure of the medieval tower house toward the more open Renaissance palazzo. In fact, Palazzo Davizzi is an amalgam of the two, with the height of a *castello* but with large and symmetrical, balanced windows of the Renaissance, which order the design.[55] An open loggia establishes the base of the home. In addition to its primary intention, the loggia outfit intended to host commercial trading, but it also acted as a waiting room and

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[53] The three arches, the bay-entrances are referred to as three great warehouse openings to the business. Peter Murray 1986, 66.
[54] Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani 2011, 8.
[55] Selwyn Brinton. "The Palazzo Davanzati at Florence" *The American Magazine of Art*, Vol. 15, Issue 5 (The American Federation of Arts, 1924), 24.

playground for family children.[56] The multi-story façade masks a courtyard in center, separate from the business loggia. Leading up from the courtyard, supported on projecting flying buttresses, a staircase leads to the private realm of the family. A common livelihood in Florence at this time, to live above one's place of business, provided ease. Not to be confused with *otium,* the ease of the urban dwellings such as the Palazzo Davizzi continued all for the *negotium* within the walls of its loggia. The financial stability of the patron's family and his own rests, stacked directly upon his business.

In addition to the floors, this fourteenth-century building's business loggia draws a direct parallel to the Ancient Roman domus. Up and down Ancient Roman streets, business establishments fronted the average domus. The tabernae, in some cases an extension of the domus, served a similar function.[57] The reemergence of this type settled in Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth century at street level, as documented with Palazzo Davizzi. Commerce was conducted in a portion of the home, separate from the private rooms, elevated from main level. In this style, *negotium* occurred feet away from the confines of the private residence. Some grander later Renaissance palaces continued to incorporate a ground floor loggia to signal a space for business, namely the city dwelling of Cosimo de'Medici.

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[56] Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani 2011, 8.

[57] According to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, a taberna was a "retail unit" with several economic function; many service industries were provided, including the sale of cooked food, wine and bread.

Under the Medici, Florence transformed from a civic elite into a disciplined courtly aristocracy.[58] The emergence of the Medici family in the Florentine public arena occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth century; the patriarchs of the family matured into the most prominent and influential dynasty of the *quattrocento.* Giovanni de Bicci de' Medici (1360-1429) became a powerful banker in the fifteenth-century; he collected funds for the papacy and cemented a long-term Medici hand in papal finances. In a two-month period in 1413, the Medici bank received in its papal account almost 32,000 florins and disbursed 29,000, sums that steadily generated profitable commissions.[59] Giovanni died in 1429, leaving his wealth and influence to his son Cosimo (1389-1464). Friendships between Antipope Pope John XXIII Cossa and Pope Martin V Colonna with Giovanni de Bicci de'Medici had been essential to the bank's early success in Rome, and Cosimo continued the alliance by cultivating even closer ties with Pope Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, and Pius II.[60] His involvement and authority with the papacy positioned the Medici bank as the concierge to papal favor. This affiliation continued until the fall of the bank in 1494, shortly after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici.[61]

Cosimo commissioned Michelozzo di Bartolommeo Michelozzi (1396-1472) to design and construct the Palazzo Medici in 1444. In the *quattrocento*, Cosimo's artistic patronage was unprecedented in scope. He paid for buildings and art for the public, including but not limited to the Sacristy of San Lorenzo and the Church of San Lorenzo c.

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[58] Najemy 2008, 478.
[59] Najemy 2008, 475-6.
[60] On Giovanni de Bicci de' Medici's deathbed, he tells his children to "stay out of the public eye." Cosimo disobeys his father's order and becomes quite the public figure, the Father of His Country, *Cosimo Pater Patriae* and soon after Lorenzo considered as the Magnificent, *Il Magnifico;* Tim Parks. *Medici Money: Banking, Metaphysics, and Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence.* (New York: Atlas Books, 2005),3.
[61] Parks 2005, 173.

1422, and the current complex of San Marco c. 1437. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) and Michelozzo carried out Cosimo's most important architectural commissions in the city.

The Palazzo Medici (1444-1448), the first of the several grandiose palaces and villas commissioned by wealthy Florentine families, especially the Medici, dramatically departed from the tower-house type, like that of the Davizzi residence, and invented an updated urban setting for the loggia. (figs. 5 & 18) The Palazzo was built from the ground up, *ex novo,* rather than patched together from preceding buildings. Under the architectural direction of Michelozzo, the palazzo, consumes an entire city block. (fig. 19) The ninety foot high building obtains an unbroken front rising from a plain ground story, complete with entrance doorways. The main story of the palazzo is perhaps the loftiest, in rusticated stone. Five arches wrap around the building, two of which contain windows under pediments, while the other one serve as doorways. Windows look out onto Florence from the Palazzo's main level.[62]

Palazzo Medici (1444-48) maintains and modifies the loggia in the urban and residential setting. (fig. 20) The magnificent residence is a centrally planned structure, designed on axis. The loggia at Palazzo Medici is placed on the corner of the home, carved out of the rusticated stone façade. Above the corner inlet, the Medici coat of arms juts out from the building, the crest made from the same stone as the building. At the intersection of the arch, a Medici medallion in the shield decorates each window to assert more power and influence. (fig. 21)

This corner loggia was an area on the palazzo utilized for negotiation and a meeting-place for the citizens. At the intersection of two streets, the corner loggia is a break in the

[62] Murray 1971, 172.

rusticated stone of the Palazzo Medici. Cosimo and Michelozzo deliberately provided a space for the general public in this overpowering piece of architecture. An assertion of Medici dominance over Florence, the palace's corner loggia also demonstrated caring for its people. The corner loggia essentially functioned as a bank teller booth. (fig 18 & 19) In addition, it was a covering from the rain for passersby and a funding center for merchants, officials, and the like.

An assertion of power, Michelozzo and Cosimo construct their representation of Renaissance commerce in this domus-*palazzo*. The sturdy and balanced Palazzo evokes Republic Roman building and demonstrates of the ambition of the powerful patron. Contrasting with corner loggia on the street, an interior courtyard is the private open space removed from the bustle of the urban center. Wrapped around the entire perimeter, the interior colonnaded courtyard is comprised of semi-circular arches, with three bays on each of the four walls with twelve columns that support the interior space. (fig. 22)

The interior plan of the Palazzo Medici mimics the ancient atrium and peristyle, the rectangular courtyard or garden of a Roman home, style.[63] An evocation of the ancient roman domus, the court area to the sky in the center. The atrium was extended by the addition of a Hellenistic peristyle courtyard and garden to the rear of the atrium, adding nature and light to the domus, in which colorful, airy visitas now created along the main axis. Inspired by Vitruvius, the entire colonnade area is ornamented with a program of with iconographic sculpture. Moreover, the symmetrical courtyard at Palazzo Medici is the largest enclosed space in mid *quattrocento* Florence.[64] It does more than simply let in

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[63] Andrew and Nancy H. Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1991), 67.
[64] Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern*

sunlight, like the cortile of Palazzo Davizzi, it is an enclosed piece of nature, a garden lobby. This taste of the natural rests in the center of the Medici palace in Florence and surely ignited their thirst for the country. The courtyard with a colonnaded perimeter references the atrium and peristyle in the Ancient Roman domus and looks forward to the Medici country villas outside of Florence and scattered across the central Italian landscape. Just as Vitruvius directs, the Medici would conceive their country homes in opposition to their city residences.

At the same time as the Medici Palace, Cosimo de' Medici commissioned a villa from his loyal architect Michelozzo. And thus, renovations commenced on a fortified castle at Careggi, and transformed into the patron's country house. The loggia would be further adapted in villas outside of the city, as an intermediary space allowing nature into the manmade.

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*Florence (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Chapter II | Saplings: The Ville dei Medici around Florence

To be successful bankers, they must stand outside. The Medici were not so much supremely fitted for life as for any of life's civilized eras. Commercialism taught them far-sight and cosmopolitan restraint, but also, by means of contrast, the values of luxury, youth, and the intellectual pleasures of being pleased. And so the Medici built their summer palaces.[65]

Trees crowded with oranges form a canopy over the outdoor space. Beneath the citrus fruits, which reference the apples in the Garden of Hesperides, Venus presides over the arrival of spring.[66] Inspired by Ancient Roman poet Ovid, Sandro Botticelli's *Primavera,* presents the wood nymph Chloris pursued by her future husband, the west wind Zephyrus. (fig. 23) The child of Chloris and Zephyrus would be Carpus, fruit, a youth known for his beauty, and here foreshadowed by the oranges. The narrative reads from right to left in Botticelli's 1482 masterpiece and depicts the transformation of Chloris into Flora, marking the beginning of the new season. In Botticelli's garden, the trees, heavy with golden fruits, provide a direct reference to the Medici coat of arms, an arrangement of six spheres, with the Florentine symbol on the highest ball.[67] Botticelli's *Primavera* hung in a Medici villa for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici (1463-1503).[68] This symbolic incorporation of the

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[65] Adrian Stokes, *The Quattrocento: A Different Conception of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Shocken Books, 1968), 77.

[66] Once tasted, the apples in the Garden of Hesperiedes bring love and fertility. William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press).

[67] The Medici crest symbolizes prosperity and harmony among men. Charles Dempsey, *The portrayal of love: Botticelli's Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 24.

[68] Andrea Bayer, "From Casone to Poesia: Paintings of Love and Marriage" in Art and Love in Renaissance Italy ed. Andrea Bayer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 233. D.S. Chambers, Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 97-9.

Medici crest speaks to this Florentine family's authority over Renaissance patronage and over the natural world, of their *negotium* integrated with their *otium.*[69]

The Medici are the financial barons of the Renaissance, high-powered aristocrats who can afford and conceive of a life outside of the city, a day's trip away in the country. Their interpretation of a rural home is not for practical but is instead intended as summer palace.[70] Giovanni di Bicci de Medici's son, Cosimo, and later great-grandson, Lorenzo, revived and transplanted the ancient lifestyle of *villeggiatura* to the *quattrocento* Tuscan countryside. Cosimo de' Medici was a private citizen, and yet because of his name and stature in society, the man was widely recognized and controlled Florentine politics. After he returned from exile in 1433-34, he transformed the republican system so that only Medici partisans could be selected for office. His artistic patronage had implications within the political sphere. Most specifically, Cosimo spearheaded the completion of the top of Brunelleschi's *duomo.*[71]

After Cosimo de' Medici's death, the commune coined a medal in his honor that identified him as *Pater Patriae*, "Father of the Country," in recognition of his contributions to the city's political and cultural life.[72] As a founding father of the Medici dynasty and of

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[69] Although villa life was traditionally extolled, since the Latin rustic poets, as an escape from the physical restrictions and social demands of the city, the relationship between villa and town was less the polar opposition of nature to culture than the reciprocal and complementary one of satellite to center. Villas urbanized the countryside, laying a grid of orderly and unifying structures over the landscape for political, military, and economic use: James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996), 134.

[70] Adrian Stokes. *The Quattrocento: A Different Conception of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Shocken Books, 1968)

[71] Peter Murray. *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1986.

[72] James Cleugh, *The Medici: A Tale of Fifteen Generations* (New York: Dorset Press, 1975), 172-3.)

Florence, the coin directly references the *denar*i of Ancient Rome.[73] As noted, this humanist interest in ancient life is what prompted the reinvention of the villa. (fig. 25)

A loyal friendship between patron and artist, a theme of the Renaissance, is displayed through the renovations on Careggi, between Cosimo and Michelozzo. Cosimo was Michelozzo's primary patron, as noted, and the architect designed a number of buildings, realized or drafted, for Florence or its surroundings for Cosimo. Vasari writes about the artist's close bond with his patron:

> In the year 1433, when Cosimo was driven into exile, Michelozzo, who loved him very greatly and was most faithful to him, accompanied him of his own free will to Venice and insisted on remaining with him all the time that he stayed there; and in the city, besides many designs and models that he made for private dwellings and public buildings, and decorations or the friends of Cosimo and for many gentlemen, he built, at the command and expense of Cosimo […][74]

Vasari's biographical evidence demonstrates the loyalty of architect to patron, a man who, zat the time, was the most powerful in the Italic peninsula. Michelozzo accompanied his patron and friend to exile in Venice, where the pair drafted models for some of the most remarkable buildings in the northern nation-state. After the exile, the pair returned home in 1434.[75]

This tradition of the rural Medici villa represents a vital shift in architectural design, from fortified to open. The villa plans of the Medici differ from the fortified medieval castle

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[73] It is quite fitting that the face of the most prominent man in Florence at was on currency; the evocation of Caesar's profile to the Medici is uncanny in this instance.
[74] Vasari "Michelozzo Michelozzi" in *Lives of the Artists.* Parks, Tim. *Medici Money: Banking, Metaphysics, and Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence.* New York: Atlas Books, 2005.
[75] Vitruvius Pollio. *Ten Books on Architecture*. tr. Ingrid D. Rowland. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 81-2.

for the first time since Ancient Rome, inspired by Vitruvius and Pliny, as the residences begin to embrace more of their natural surroundings.[76]

Few and irregular windows references the closed and fortified castle, then Michelozzo''s regular wing, then the loggia.[77] The colonnaded loggia emerges in this context as a Renaissance rural invention, moved from the city house, where it provided a liminal space between the private and the public, to the country house, where it became a transitional space, opening toward nature, to the villa gardens. (fig. 26 & 28) The villas serve as examples of this form. The designs of the Medici villas at Careggi and Fiesole incorporate the loggia as an increasingly prominent part of the whole. (fig. 27) At Poggio a Caiano, the loggia regresses as a space, illustrating that it is not yet canonical. Instead, at Poggio a Caiano, the exterior perimeter of the ground floor features an arcaded cryptoporticus, a transitional gallery space for the house staff. Still, the integration of the outdoors with the interior in Poggio a Caiano remains. At this extravagant Medici villa, the addition of fresco, supplements this integration. This chapter argues that these three specific *quattrocento* Medici *ville suburbane* coopted and incorporated the loggia from mercantile city architecture. Thus, they create a non-antique reference to urban *negotium* within rural *otium*. The chapter closes by exploring why Lorenzo de' Medici's villa at Poggio a Caiano departs from this emerging prototype but introduces a significant characteristic of *villeggiatura.*

Giovanni's di Bicci' de'Medici's son, Cosimo (1389-1464) consolidated Medici power in Florence, as stated in the last chapter (fig 28) By lending financial aid to the Republic, he earned political and social prestige. The Medici had a charm over Florence: Cosimo the

[76] Vitruvius tr. Ingrid Rowland, 1999, 82.
[77] Stokes 1968, 112-13.

Elder (d. 1464) and Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492) in particular, in lesser a political capacity and more so in the cultural sense.

Propagators of antiquity, the Medici brought their humanistic educations into their commissions and lives.[78] In Florence, the Palazzo Medici, (1444-1448), with its sturdy, rusticated façade on street level, the Florentine city villa asserted the family's hold over the nation-state in the *quattrocento.* After developing a career in Florence, Cosimo conceived of his rural retreat to fulfill his desire, the *otium.*[79] (fig. 3)

Purchased by Cosimo de' Medici in 1417, the property at Careggi was a pre-existing medieval castle similar to his other properties at Cafaggiolo and Trebbio. (fig. 3 & 4)[80] But at Careggi, Cosimo decided to alter his residence and transported it into the Renaissance. Cosimo commissioned Michelozzo di Bartolommeo Michelozzi (1396-1472) to modify the original fourteenth-century farmhouse and create the first among the *ville suburbane* of the Medici. So into the country from Florence he went, to update the villa for his esteemed patron and friend. Their country homes serve the same purpose, as a display of their wealth, but also act as retreats from the stresses of the urban center.

At Careggi, Michelozzo remodeled the fortified castle into a more open villa for Cosimo de'Medici. (fig. 25, 29) sdThe residence's guarded façade and crenelated features establish the building as medieval. The original building highest story is complete with crenels and merlons.[81] Michelozzo's renovations, however, enable antiquity to enter the

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[78] Jacob Burkhardt, The Civilization of The Renaissance in Italy (New York: The Modern Library, 1954), 160.
[79] Vitruvius
[80] James S. Ackerman, and others on this.
[81] The crenelated roof of a fortified building was a source of protection with archer's tucked in and around the crenels and merlons.

building, and qualify the residence as the first true *villa suburbana*.[82] The garden front of the villa is symmetrical and obtains more of the relaxed elegance of the Renaissance than the fortified precursor.[83] One of the key features of the remodeling was the opening up of the once defensive exterior walls to create a loggia that extended toward the outdoors, the rear gardens, and then Tuscan countryside (fig. 28). On a once completely fortified, and therefore enclosed residence, Michelozzo exposes the interior to nature with the loggia on the main story. The loggias on the villa at Careggi emphasize the emerging value of the natural surroundings and the gardens of the grounds as an extension of the home. And Careggi is the first to fertilize these ideals into the preexisting property. With the loggia, an important relationship develops between the person and the landscape. In 1462, Cosimo de' Medici invited his young humanistic protégé Marsilio Ficino to the Medici villa.[84] Ficino wrote, "Yesterday I came to the villa of Careggi, not to cultivate my fields but my soul." Ficino's words are reminiscent of Pliny's letter to Julius Naso."[85] Similarly, in a letter Galeazzo Maria Sforza wrote to his father, he remarks on the villa at Careggi with, "*Quale visto di ogni canto."*[86]*: translates to "What a view in every direction."* Sforza marvels at the villa and the delicious views it provides of its Tuscan backdrop.

The Villa de' Medici at Careggi introduced the loggia into the rural private realm. Michelozzo's renovations on Careggi mix the medieval architecture of the building's past-life with new Renaissance ideals. Michelozzo's villa retains the immediately preceding

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[82] Ackerman 1990, 66.
[83] Ackerman 1990, 72.
[84] Cosimo re-created Plato's ancient academy in his villa of Careggi, where Marsilio Ficino became the Platonic cult's high priest. At the same time the University of Florence, with conspicuous success, resumed the teaching of Greek, which had been unknown in the West for 700 years. Cosimo instigated Humanism in the Renaissance.
[85] Coffin 1979, 46, notes the parallel between Ficino and Pliny.
[86] Sforza, Galeazzo Maria in 1968. 77.

Gothic tradition, with pointed arches and cross-vaulted ceilings, as seen in the preceding chapter at the Loggia dei Priori in Piazza della Signoria. The Gothic elements coupled with the crenellation of the medieval castle on the exterior of the home maintain the fortified skeleton. (fig 27) The road or front façade and the back façade of the villa are practically identical, except for the loggia where, the garden loggia disturbs the symmetry of the block building, by opening the back to the gardens.

Michelozzo marries the older type with a Renaissance confidence, the irregular, protected façade with a court, contained, protected, functional, closed from nature, court. Michelozzo and patron open up the area Number of bays, form of architecture, and scale. For leisure, not for work. From afar, the Medici villa at Careggi seems entirely enclosed. Also, the addition of an upper-story porch, above the ground floor signals Michelozzo's careful attempt to open the fortified building to the outside. (fig. 6) This upper-story porch allows a view over the manicured walled-in gardens to the refined nature and the countryside. Most likely intended for the residents of the villa only, the colonnaded porch is on top of the loggia. The patron in this villa is able to experience nature exposed to a brisk wind, morning dew, and warmth of the sun while remaining above the ground in nature. This space differs from the one on main level, as its roof is flat and the space is purely private. Thin colonnades support the roof. On the *piano terrano,* the main level, the addition of the loggia references the classical villa without directly quoting it. It offers an arcuated area for one to meander from inside to outside with ease. As this architectural invention is exposed to nature, the loggias require a peaceful countryside, one void of crime and violence.

Though the residential building at Careggi was less fortified than its medieval precursor, walls still enclosed the villa estate. The lack of fortification speaks to a peaceful lifestyle in tranquil surroundings; walk into a fortified castle, walk out into the back of a villa, crenel to loggia. As part of his *otium,* Cosimo de'Medici safely views the city under his political control, from his castle-villa. The loggia suggests a growing comfort-level with the once dangerous countryside. Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) writes in *De Re Aedificatora*, composed c. 1450, that the villa type not only "offers the greatest, the most honest, and most certain profit," but also it is a place to "flee those uproars, those tumults, that tempest of the world, of the piazza, of the palace."[87] Careggi is where Cosimo Pater Patriae chose to spend his final days, away from the city center, in his rural sanctuary. This mentality fits into villa ideology as a place for rest.[88]

Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici (1421-1463) commissioned a villa at Fiesole *ex novo* as a departure from the restrictions of the villas of the *Pater Patriae*. (fig. 6) Giovanni was the second son to Cosimo de'Medici and Contessina de Bardi. In 1438, Giovanni acted as director of Ferrara branch of the Medici bank and was pegged as successor to his father. At his villa in Fiesole, there are no medieval "spires and battlements" like that of a castle-villa.[89] The fortress aspect that survived at Careggi are absent in the relaxed Fiesole. The villa at Fiesole is a cubic permeable home with grand views, consciously recalling ancient cubic villas and it first appearing here.[90] Fiesole's view encompassed Florence and the Arno valley, as the physical building remained above nature, delineating indoor from outdoor.

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[87] Leon Battista Alberti in Coffin 1979, 11.
[88] D.S. Chambers, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1971).
[89] Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*
[90] Ackerman 1990, 77.

The natural meets the manmade on ground level of the home in the loggia on the Fiesole villa.

The almost square building is a typical example of 15th-century edifice, with square *serena* stone windows and broad loggias looking out over the surroundings, the estate, and the countryside. (fig. 8) Loggias extend the definition of a home residence into the garden as an intermediary zone. The loggia at Fiesole streams from across the *quattro*- and *cinquecento.*[91] The Renaissance villa at Fiesole branches down toward a large enclosed garden.[92] (fig. 30)

The main level loggia, complete with arcuated bays, and an indoor outdoor space, dealt with a refined nature. The loggia replaces the city courtyard, the glimpse of natural within the walls of the urban palazzo. There is no need for a covered and enclosed nature. Now, the total building is one with nature. The view from each window, entrance, the loggia especially is emphasized and vivid in country villa architecture.

Poet Angelo Poliziano writes of the Fiesole villa: "Seated between the sloping sides of the mount, here we have water in abundance and, being constantly refreshed with moderate winds, find little inconvenience from the glare of the sun."[93] Poliziano's quote makes clear that Giovanni and Michelozzo selected this site not for convenience in construction but for pleasurable living experience complete with water, breeze, and light. The terrace loggia houses leisure, and in the context of Fiesole, its construction was necessary in order to support the villa building and gardens on the slope. Michelozzo was

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[91] The loggia on the west side of the home was during Giovanni's time, only a terrace. Ackerman 1990, 74.

[92] Amanda Lillie, *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century: An Architectural and Social History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 34.

not bound to any pre-existing structure and so the architect built with innovative stylistic and experienced criteria.

A simple square building, originally 32x32 Florentine arms, whitewashed with windows framed by serene stone frames and large open loggias on the landscape on either side of the central hall on the main floor. Vitruvius writes on the difference between domus and villa. Admittedly, this passage of his treatise is confused and the difficulty in deciphering his words may have resulted in the rejection of the courtyard for the Renaissance loggia.

Conceived of as a *villa suburbana*, the residence rests on a hillside with views over the city. The building rejects the fortified medieval type and illustrates Renaissance ideals such as harmony and proportion, as embodied in the round arches of the loggia.[94] The Fiesole villa hovers over the Tuscan countryside on a terraced hilltop. (fig. 30 & 31) The building and garden layer like a staircase, the architecture merging seamlessly into nature. Its manicured gardens descend from the villa and develop an enclosed outdoor realm equal in use and importance to the rooms within the villa walls.

The construction of the building initiated just as Alberti's completed his *De re aedificatoria*. Michelozzo might have discussed the villa type with Leon Battista Alberti, during his time in Florence prior to writing his treatise. Michelozzo could not have seen the treatise, because of geographical distance and other factors. Alberti based his book on the schema formulated by Vitruvius early in the first century B.C and calls for a villa to be on a height, to make its forms more grand, and with a garden all around."[95] Michelozzo learned of Vitruvius from his original Medici patron, Cosimo, who had a chance meeting with

[94] Mazzini and Martin 2004, full.
[95] Ackerman 1990, 76.

Alberti abides by these guidelines completely with the construction at Fiesole. (fig. 32 & 33)

The Fiesole villa, overlooking the countryside and city in the distance, was apparently only large enough for small gatherings and could not accommodate more than the intimate family. It was a home to frequent for brief periods from time to time.[96]

On the death of Giuliano, his elder brother inherited the villa. Lorenzo *il Magnifico* used Careggi more frequently, but he loved Fiesole as well: here too he used to gather the large group of humanists who revolved around the Medici court. Lorenzo Agnolo Poliziano, Pico della Mirandola, Cristoforo Landino, and other thinkers and writers, including readings, ancient theater performances, and discussions erudite rediscovered classical culture which is the pivot of the artistic and literary renewal of the Renaissance.

The residence and loggia at Fiesole serves as entry in and out of the villa. The architecture somewhat takes back seat to the gardens that terrace down the hill Tuscan countryside. The larger home and an additional smaller piece, descend the hill with the natural and the loggia, a three-bay inset structure with semi-circular arches, supported by two pillars, creates a transitional space for the patron and the visitors of the incredible villa.[97]

In 1477 and, later in 1479, with the acquisition of land from Giovanni Rucellai, Lorenzo de' Medici commissioned Giuliano da Sangallo (1445-1516) to begin construction on a Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano. The sturdy villa block sources heavily from its predecessors and classical antiquity. The light colors of the exterior walls do the opposite of camoflauge the villa from nature. At Poggio, Lorenzo combined the material pursuits of

[96] Lillie, 2005, 29.
[97] Lillie, 2005.

the early villas with the classical architecture and intellectual ideals of the Fiesole retreat.[98] The Villa de' Medici at Poggio a Caiano for Lorenzo de' Medici is the final example in this chapter even though the building does not have loggias like Careggi and Fiesole. The villa is included to illustrate two points: the design of Vitruvian inspired indoor-outdoor spaces still in flux and the introduction of fresco painting into the liminal space. The villa at Poggio a Caiano relies on the ground floor. The purpose of this villa in the project's argument is to illustrate the implementation of art into the architectural design.

Lorenzo was a Florentine humanist statesman and a patron of the arts. Lorenzo de'Medici (1449-1492) "il Magnifico" (the Magnificent) dominated Florence politics with his younger brother, Giuliano (1453-1478).[99] After the murder of his brother, Lorenzo became the sole ruler of Florence from 1478-1492. During his time in Florentine politics, Lorenzo created the Council of Seventy, an organization he hoped would be even more manageable than the old *Cento* (Hundred). This amazed Europe, for he had all the attributes of a true sovereign. And his new villa at Poggio a Caiano had all the majesty of a royal residence and introduced high quality painting into exterior-interior space.

The villa at Poggio a Caiano illustrates the progression of the villa type from the q*uattrocento* into the *cinquecento.* Poggio a Caiano, in comparison to its predecessors, is a villa of grandeur. (fig. 9) The earlier Medici villas revealed a desire for the quiet and solitude and for communion with the informality of the natural environment. The villa at Poggio was meant to be admired.[100]

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[98] Ackerman 1990, 78.
[99] Chambers 1971, 103.
[100] Ackerman 1990, 80.

Fully embracing all aspects of villa ideology, including nature and classical antiquity, Lorenzo's residence is perhaps the Medici residence that best integrates the classical with the modern. Architect Giuliano da Sangallo (1443-1516) fuses these elements in his design for Lorenzo's with inspiration from Leone Battista Alberti. Much like the bond between Cosimo Pater Patriae and Michelozzo, Lorenzo consistently commissioned Giuliano in public and private architectural projects throughout his adult life.[101]

Lorenzo de'Medici and Giuliano da Sangallo studied Vitruvius via Alberti's newly published treatise to arrive at a formation quite different from the loggia**.** Though the enormous villa lacks a loggia, the architecture and each of its four facades present the significance of a liminal space in the home. The plan of the villa at Poggio a Caiano is strictly symmetrical. The porch behind it is covered by a transverse barrel vault stucoed a*ll'antica* and adorned with Medici symbols, is the Poggio rendition of a loggia space. (fig. 10) The design references the Roman temple, as an attempt to articulate the classical, but stands as an inaccurate interpretation.[102] The full house plan is a well-proportioned creation that suited Lorenzo's liking.[103]

At Poggio, Lorenzo satisfied his otium, and dabbled on a small-scale farm on the property, which afforded the Medici prince a connection to nature. Like Cosimo, Lorenzo was fond of villa life where he could delight in nature, as many of his poems, and his own commentary on his sonnets reveal. His great rural architectural counterpart to such a poem

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[101] Front façade applied onto the facade, and by the projecting stairways, originally straight and directly in line with the limits of the temple front), Giuliano creates an axis that disrupts the isolation of the whole building and pierces the main facade.
[102] Ackerman 1990, 82.
[103] Heydenreich 1974, 140.

was the villa at Poggio a Caiano.[104] In his "Ambra," the wealthy Medici patron relates a metamorphosis, after Ovid's manner, in order to give a poetic origin and color to his enormous villa at Poggio a Caiano, the rural residence that rises from the waters of the Ombrone River.[105]

The villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano is a grandiose statement of Renaissance ideals. (fig. 37) As noted, Giuliano da Sangallo adorned the façade with a porch and in reference to a classical temple (fig. 36) The only villa that was decorated *all'antica* is the villa at Poggio a Caiano, about nine miles away from the city center. Lorenzo's aspiration to have a suburban residence designed and decorated in the ancient style was preceded by his long-standing enthusiasm for collecting not only engraved gems but also large-scale statues.

The Medici family had a stronghold over the Florentine landscape. An impressive display of their wealth and power, Cosimo *Pater Patriae,* Giovanni, and Lorenzo *il Magnifico*, in particular, demonstrated their authority in the urban center as well as with their private villas. The Renaissance development of the loggia in the villa is a direct result of the Medici villas at Careggi and Fiesole, while Poggio a Caiano introduced the idea of These Florentine figures usurped the public space of the loggia and appropriated it to match the needs of a renewed villa ideology. (fig. 38) Botticelli's tempera-on-panel, *Primavera*, illuminates the influence and authority of the Medici over Florence and the Tuscan province, just as the painting's narrative displays Zephyrus over Chloris beneath a laurel and citrus canopy of the Medici coat of arms. The masterpiece painting most likely belonged to the second cousin of Lorenzo de'Medici. Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco, who was

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[104] Coffin 1979, 14.
[105] Horsburgh, *Lorenzo the Magnificent and Florence in her Golden Age.* (London: Methuen & Co, 1908), 398.

brought up by the *Magnificent*, most likely owned Botticelli's *Primavera*.[106] Botticelli's *Primavera* serves as metaphor for the Medici's dominion over the Tuscan countryside in the *quattrocento.* Moreover, with the turn from *quattrocento* to *cinquecento,* the incorporation of permanent, site-specific art arrives in the villa space.

The interior decoration of the loggia and the surrounding rooms at Poggio a Caiano speak to the ever-growing confidence and artistic hand of the Italian Renaissance. Vibrant fresco of mythological scenes depicts bounty. Under the coffered ceilings, one of the several is Pontormo's 1521 *Vertumnus and Pomona.* The artist presents the God of harvests and goddess of fruit trees in a lunette in Poggio a Caiano. Pontormo received the commission from Ottaviano de'Medici, then Cardinal Giulio de'Medici and Giovanni de'Medici. Putti rest atop the circular window frame within the lunette. Figures, animals, trees, and garlands, fill the natural scene. (fig, 40) It is an enchanted terrace, deceptive in perspectival structure. The two main figures, Vertumnus and Pomona, sit on the ledge and reach toward the same tree. The mythological fresco continues the ongoing narrative of bounty from the earth and bounty from the pocket. This Pontormo fresco speaks to the fantastic mystery of nature and the villa and further delivers the message that the rural or suburban home satiates the wealthy patron's *otium.*

At Poggio a Caiano, the large central hall conflates atrium and oecus of Roman villas. This speaks to the ongoing difficulty of Renaissance patrons and artists to decipher Vitruvius. The cryptoporticus on the ground floor, which runs along all four sides of the building, allowed for storage and entrance into the grand villa by its staff. It was not for

[106] As recorded by Vasari in the *cinquecento*

leisure. At the moment of Lorenzo's death (1492), the villa was still incomplete and it was not until 1512 that construction began again, this time according to Pope Leo X's orders. The villas at Careggi and Fiesole, especially, strip the loggia from a public space of business and gathering and transplant it. The architectural space is then cultivated as a rural private zone. The rural Medici villas are void of *negotium* in their ideals, as the villa, according to ancient and contemporary text, should be for leisure. As Vitruvius is being loosely interpreted by architects and patrons, villa culture and the purpose of the loggia into the *cinquecento.*

Chapter III | Fruition: The Villa Chigi in Rome

"Of course, it is certainly not easy to trace precise border lines between these two succeeding intellectual movements, often dovetailing into one another, even if it is a well-known fact that the cradle of Humanism was Florence and that in Florence it blossomed till the death of Lorenzo il Magnifico, whilst the Renaissance found in the atmosphere of Rome the proper climate in which to bloom and attain full ripeness as a consequence, and, as it were, a crowning of the preceding artistic civilization."[107]

Tree fruits, root vegetables, and wild plants weave in and around plush green bands of vegetation. It seems all verdant life sprouts from this incredible garland, which criss-crosses the loggia ceiling. A symmetrical pattern develops in Giovanni da Udine's composition of fruits, flowers, and vegetables in the luscious greenery, delineating the rectangular room's vaults, ten spandrels, and eight lunettes.[108] (fig. 2) Flora and fauna abound, the design continues and frames a series of mythological scenes. In Agostino Chigi's *Loggia di Amore and Psiche*, the central room of a Renaissance patron's Roman retreat, mythical figures celebrate a marriage against a blue sky with golden clouds. An assortment of birds fly in the background, contrasting with the warm tones of godly flesh and diving down into the foreground toward the bold emerald garlands of suggestively-shaped fruit.[109] (fig. 1) The Italian for birds, *uccelli*, doubles as slang for male genitalia, which emphasizes the theme of sexuality and fertility in the villa. Agostino Chigi inserted the three facets of his *otium* into his villa: love, antiquity, and the conflation of his *negotium.* His central loggia serves as an emblem for the fusion of trio. This chapter argues that Villa Chigi not only represents the fruition of the first instance of a canonical painted

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[107] Paolo D'Ancona, *Gli Affreschi della Farnesina in Roma* (Milan: Edizione del Milione, 1955), 10.
[108] In Giovanni da Udine's garlands, more than one hundred and seventy plant species are depicted. Jules Janick,"Fruits and Nuts of the Villa Farnesina"*Arnoldia* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Horticulture, 2006), 20.
[109] *Uccello;* The middle finger, today, is sometimes referred to as the bird. Leo Steinberg, "Eve's Idle Hand," *Art Journal,* Vol 35, Issue 2 (New York: Routledge, Taylor, and Francis Group, 1975), 131-32.

villa loggia, but also the culmination of the preceding Medici experiments. Yet, the loggia space was conceived to appeal to another Medici, the pope Leo X (1475-1521), which stretches the liminal quality of the loggia beyond simply that of an indoor-outdoor hybrid. To argue this dual reading of the loggia at Villa Chigi, this chapter will review the complex economic context of its commission, describe the central loggia, and analyze how it articulates both Agostino Chigi's *otium* and *negotium.*

Born in the oldest banking city in the west, Siena, Agostino Andrea Chigi lived through the height of the Renaissance, from the late *quattrocento* into the early *cinquecento*. Son of the distinguished Sienese banker, Mariano Chigi, Agostino followed in the family business as a merchant banker. Wealthy banking families vied for control of Siena during the Renaissance, but the Chigi financially prevailed.[110] In 1487, Agostino moved to Rome, under his father's direction, to broaden the Chigi fortune.[111] Sienese connections were particularly strong during this period in Rome. The other bankers of Siena (and Rome), the Spannocchi, the Strozzi, the Altoviti, the Gaddi, and the Bini, could not and did not compare with Chigi, but they remained competitors in patronage of art.[112] Chigi's rise to power rests on massive sums of money and material wealth that he attained through monopolies over trade and imports: his contemporaries estimated his annual income at 70,000 ducats and at his death, 800,000 ducats were left behind. Pope and banker were after acquiring a strong capital. Agostino furthered economic ties with the

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[110] Chigi was considered *'il Magnifico',* an epithet applied not only to Chigi, but also by Pandolfo Petrucci, Ambrogio Spannocchi, and Lorenzo de'Medici. The title was awarded to him by the senate, for his contributions to the republic. Philippa Jackson in Luke Syson, *Renaissance Siena* (London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2007), 62; Oskar Fischel, *Raphael* (London: Spring Books, 1948), 175.

[111] Ingrid D. Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar the Things which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino" (*Renaissance Quarterly* 39.4 Winter 1986), 673-730.

[112] Pastor 1908, 120.

whole of Western Europe, at one time having up to 20,000 employees, receiving from Siena (YEAR) the title of *Il Magnifico*, the Magnificent and "*il gran mercante,"* the great merchant (YEAR). In order to achieve such heights, Agostino Chigi worked with three popes as financial planner during his life in Rome to Alexander VI (1492-1503), Julius II (1503-1513), and Leo X (1513-1521).[113] When Chigi arrived to Rome, Alexander VI Borgia held the papacy. In *The Prince*, Niccolò Machiavelli remarks on the Borgia pope:

> Alexander VI, more than any other pontiff who has ever lived, showed how much a pope could achieve with money and armed force. […] After his death ... the Church inherited the fruits of his labours. Then came Pope Julius [II]. He found the Church already great ... as a result of Alexander's vigour."[114]

Machiavelli's description of the Borgia pope notes a shift in papal concerns in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century from a seat of pious worship to economic and political control. From Alexander VI, Agostino Chigi acquired the leases to the alum mines of Tolfa and later in 1501, Massa, Monteritondo, and Agnano.[115]

While Chigi was in Rome, the collapse of the Medici bank took place. The decline of the Medici Bank led to the rise of another family, the Chigi, as the papacy's financiers. Agostino Chigi aided Giuliano della Rovere both prior to and during his papacy. Giuliano, who took the name of Julius II as pope, 1503-1513, appointed Chigi to treasurer and notary of the Apostolic Camera on December 16th, 1505.[116] Then, almost immediately, Chigi became chief advisor to the Pope. Together, pope and advisor brought about a new gold age

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[113] Denys Hay, *The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1961), 162.
[114] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* tr. Allan H. Gilbert (New York: Hendricks House Inc., 1964).
[115] Ingrid Rowland, The Culture of the High Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 78-9.
[116] Apostolic Camera or Chamber was the financial office of the church, headed by a cardinal chamberlain, who supervised bankers, notaries, and scribes for the papacy. Rowland 1998, 68.

with Renaissance revival of an imperial Julius and Augustus by 1503.[117] Thus, the Chigi and della Rovere crests joined, combining the della Rovere oak with the Chigi monti, and for ten years, the pair oversaw Rome in all her glory.[118] (fig, 42a) Their alliance developed a stronghold over Rome and the Italian peninsula.[119] Agostino accompanied Warrior Pope, Julius II della Rovere in the field, in both his 1506 and 1510 military campaigns, at the Venetian sojourn.[120]. Chigi and the influence of his villa, particularly his pagan-themed loggia, had on the following years of *cinquecento* art and architecture.[121]

On May 14th, 1505, Chigi purchased land by the *Porta Settimiana* and *Ponte Sisto,* fronted by the end of *via Lungara* and abutted by the west bank of the Tiber River.[122] The banker commissioned fellow Sienesian, Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536) c. 1509-10 to design and build his villa. Primarily a painter by trade, and also an expert in archaeology, Peruzzi undertook the job of erecting Chigi's villa, a residence that would become the first great Roman town villa.[123] Built in accord with Alberti's conception of a country retreat that also enjoyed the amenities of a city, Agostino's Villa Chigi provided a dual-purpose: a place for leisure and for business, for meeting his mistresses and for wooing a pope.

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[117] Chigi filled his *viridario,* his gardens, with inlaid furniture, ancient marbles, and Eastern carpets. Paintings in his villa by master artists and poems by Girolamo Borgia proclaimed the general theme that he was a new Augustus, playing on his own given name as well as that of Pope Julius, his obliging Caesar. Rowland 1986,181.

[118] Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 45.

[119] Rowland 1998, 49.

[120] Pope and Banker went to Venice together

[121]Pope Julius II further developed the topography of Rome with two straight streets, which paralleled to ancient roads. Both connect Villa Chigi with Vatican City. Ponte S. Angelo, surviving from antiquity, was elaborated upon. His uncle, Sixtus IV, built the bridge into Trastevere. One street, via Giulia, in Rome proper for the palaces and one street, via Lungara, for villas.

[122] David Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton: Princeton, University Press, 1979), 87. (My love for Agostino Chigi's villa only enhanced when I learned the patron bought the land on which it sits on my birthday.)

[123] D'Ancona, 1955, 14.

Oftentimes, banquets and gatherings fused these elements of *otium* and *negotium*.[124] In addition to Peruzzi, Raphael and his workshop including Giovanni da Udine, Sebastiano del Piombo, and il Sodoma, worked on the villa.[125] (fig. 9, 41 & 42)

With his nearly unlimited funds, Agostino loved to promote himself and his bank as such.[126] With this mentality, he hired Baldassare Peruzzi in c. 1509. Prior to Chigi's commission, Peruzzi was employed by Bramante at St. Peter's, in an apprenticeship financed by Chigi.[127] Peruzzi continued to split his time between Rome and Siena.[128] Chigi underwrote Baldassare Peruzzi's ongoing architectural education, including extensive travel around Italy. Once the architect was prepared, construction began. Built of stuccoed brick and *peperino* stone, the exterior of Villa Chigi appeared both welcoming and fortified. These details of style distinguish the villa from other urban Renaissance palaces. For example, the Palazzo Medici, from the second chapter, draws an excellent comparison to this Roman *cinquecento* villa. Until Chigi's villa, the urban residence was made up of a block building with rusticated stone exterior; here Peruzzi emphasized stucco. Furthermore, city palaces had an enclosed courtyard, while Chigi's villa has a U-shaped plan, with a five bay loggia at the north side, the original entrance to the residence.[129]

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[124] Georgina Masson, *Italian Gardens,* (New York: Garden Art Press, 1969), 126.
[125] Though rich in visual narrative, the contributions of these artists in the other rooms of Chigi's villa are beyond the scope of this paper.
[126] Fischel 1948, 176.
[127] Thomas Graham Jackson, The Renaissance of Roman Architecture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 72.
[128]Peruzzi built the Villa Vicobello, near Siena, as well the Belcaro. The well-known Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne Villa Trivulzio in and near Rome, respectively, are also his. John Varriano, *Tastes and Temptations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 42.
[129] While the city facade became the main entrance to the villa, at a point, the loggia was the villa entrance

The front and back façade differ in shape, as the former is flat, simple, and symmetrical with a main entrance and city approach, while the latter extends out with two wings around the central loggia into an enclosed garden parallel to the Tiber. The southern city façade of Villa Chigi, toward the access road to Ponte Sisto and Rome proper, had a plinth and column the architectural trim, including the bases and capitals of peperino. Similarly, and visible from street view, Chigi flaunted his status with the papacy, through a large *peperino* and gilt Della Rovere stemma above the main entrance door. (fig,42a) Both Sixtus IV, the patron of the bridge, and his soon friend, Julius II were, of course, della Rovere. The five-bay indoor-outdoor space of the Villa Chigi loggia is set within central block, on the back façade. The loggia's interior recalls a salon in scale, the main entertainment room. At the time of its construction, the main staircase ascended from the loggia, the right of the central bay.[130]

Vasari notes that Peruzzi frescoed all exterior stucco walls with terracotta-colored chiaroscuro paintings. Faint traces of this painting remain in the spandrels of the three northernmost arches of the garden loggia. In these spandrels, female figures rest against the extrados of the arches, two holding cornucopias full of fruit appropriate to the garden and the frescoes within the loggia, and the other a caduceus.

At the corner of the building *peperino* blocks serve as quoins to achieve a stronger corner appearance by stone rather than brick. Above these figures, attic windows intervene before a rich stucco frieze of garlands. Groupings of *putti* support them on either end.[131] Further up on the exterior cornice, a monochrome frieze of fairy-tale gaiety composed by Peruzzi himself emphasizes a neo-pagan theme. The back façade of the villa,

[130] Passage to the second floor of the residence was later moved. Coffin 1979, 91.
[131] This trope continues within the villa on Raphael's frescoes

which faces the Tiber, has a similar elevation bifurcated by the central garden loggia. Two symmetrical wings extend beyond the loggia on either side. In its northerly orientation, at a right angle to public view, from *via Lungara*, the loggia remains a mystery hidden from most eyes. In fact, the garden loggia*, La Loggia di Amore e Psiche* served as private entrance for only the privileged, namely the Pope.[132] (fig. 43)

Once the architecture was completed, Baldassare Peruzzi stayed on to paint in the *Sale di Fregio, Prospettive,* and *Galatea,* while Raffaelo Sanzio and his workshop decorated the other villa interior with frescoes.[133] Thus, Peruzzi, together with Agostino, Julius II, and Bramante, appear to have called Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (1483-1520), to Rome.[134] Appointed head of antique monuments in the Vatican *fabbrica,* Raphael designed the frescoes within Chigi's garden loggia and *Sala di Galatea,* and had his apprentices and workshop execute the actual painting of the drafted material. In addition to Giovanni da Udine and Raphael himself, Giulio Romano (1499-1546) and G. Francesco Penni (c. 1490-1528) assisted in the loggia and completed the majority of the figural frescoes from Raphael's sketches and cartoons.[135] Chigi chose these notable artists to glorify his own public image.[136]

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[132] Pastor 1908, 120.
[133] D'Ancona 1955, 19-25. Wolk-Simon, Linda. ""Rapture to the Greedy Eyes:" Profane Love in the Renaissance" in Bayer, Andrea, ed. *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 326.
[134] W.W. Kent, *The Life and Works of Baldassare Peruzzi of Siena* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company 1925), 5; Ettore Camesasca, ed. tr. Paul Colacicchi, *All the Frescoes of Raphael*, Part I & II. (New York: Hawthorn Books Inc., 1963), 11.
[135] Pastor 1908, 119; W.E. Greenwood, *The Villa Madama Rome* (New York City:William Helburn, Inc., 1928), 22.
[136] Sophie Bajard and Raffaello Bencini, *Rome: Palaces and Gardens* (Paris: Bayard Presse, Finest Sa/Editions Terrail, 1997), 16.

While under construction in 1513, Julius II died and decoration of the loggia commences. Leo X, from 1513 onward, like Julius II, appreciated the combination of luxury with classical antiquity.[137] Agostino Chigi's lure of the new Medici pope to his villa influenced the painting design. The fresco decoration of the central loggia, in turn, opens the villa from a private retreat for the pope and Chigi's mistresses, to a banquet hall. Along the interior walls, the workshop of Raphael decorated the loggia.

The fresco decorations assert both the surface and undercurrent of Agostino's *otium* with narrative sourced from classical antiquity as relative to his life. The subject matter of the frescos within Giovanni's garland frames derives from Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, also known as 'The Metamorphosis.' The universal story of love under the guise of a mythological fable. Psyche is in mortal danger because she has been described as being as beautiful as Venus and has thus incurred the wrath of the goddess who contrives to take revenge, via Cupid, by causing Psyche to fall in love with a hideous man. Instead, Cupid falls in love with Psyche. The workshop of Raphael decorated the garden loggia of Pysche and Cupid including the ceiling frescoes of the *Wedding Feast* and *Council of the Gods* as well as the bordering spandrels and lunettes below which catalog episodes of the story of Psyche. The themes of the elaborate frescoes walls relate the villa to two aspects of Chigi's *otium*: love and antiquity. Classical tales of the *Marriage of Psyche*, the *Triumph of Galatea,* to the *Council of the Gods,* coat the walls of Villa Chigi to evoke an earlier time and assert the patron's mastery at reviving these themes in the Renaissance.

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[137] Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trubner, &Co., Ld, 1901), 3.

In one spandrel, Mercury welcomes the guests to the garden loggia. The messenger god has his arms wide open. Life from animals and vegetation all around the figure, Mercury gestures toward the garland of Giovanni da Udine's fruit. In this region of the loggia's fresco, the fruits are more suggestive than ever, explicitly referencing genitalia.[138] (fig. 45) The classical motifs highlight the banker's patronage of the arts and the humanities but the artist's personal touches on the frescoes narrate the sensual themes of the villa. The presence of these pagan narratives in the home of the "*gran mercante di Christianita`*" demonstrate the Renaissance co-opting of the classical into Christian Rome while emphasizing antiquity as a pastime of Agostino's education.

Sebastiano del Piombo, a great student of Giovanni Bellini, painted the head of the giant Polyphemus. A year later, at the banker's request, Raphael painted a fresco of the *Triumph of Galatea* to compliment Sebastiano's painting. In 1517, Raphael and his best students painted the vault of the garden loggia of Psyche and Cupid. Raphael's fresco works in the loggia are in complete conversation with the architecture and the antique. Both in its intentions and its inspiration, the Chigi villa draws much from the ancients, especially of Pliny. The ancient country villa was a residence for the private citizen, free from clients and political negotiations, a place devoted to a life of *otium;* what Agostino Chigi did with his home, *his vigna,* matches this ideal but it expands it. A literal evocation of Ancient Roman villa life is the papal banker's *villa suburbana,* Chigi adds *negotium* to his space of *otium.* Giovanni da Udine's garlands continue to surround the scenes of the loggia to directly relate to the gardens just outside the five-bays of the loggia, a curated space of violets and lilacs, roses and lemon trees.

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[138] Coffin 1979, 98.

The threesome of Chigi, Peruzzi, and Raphael, were bonded by the villa, as employer and employees and fellow humanists. Chigi and Raphael shared a particular interest, which speaks to the ideals of *villeggiatura*: the vivacity of their love lives. One of the several narrative scenes in the legend of Cupid and Psyche from Apuleius, depicted on these colorful walls is a tableau of Venus, goddess of love, and her son, Cupid, god of love.[139] In the spandrel, centered above two doors leading into the neighboring *Sala di Galatea*, Venus and Cupid sit, plotting an amorous scheme. (fig. 44) The mother directs Cupid's arrow with a gesture of her hand. Her arm extends parallel to her son's arrow. Leaning toward Venus, Cupid stands slightly behind, in a subtle *contrapposto,* his right arm erect, arrow in hand. The heads of Venus and Cupid come together closely to share the same view, mother directing son's vision toward the nymph, Psyche. Raphael's mythological duo in Apuleius' story not only interacts with their painted companions, but also with the real Renaissance inhabitants of the space below. Cupid's arrows also inspired the events conducted in the opulent loggia of Agostino Chigi's Roman *villa suburbana.*

The patron understood the psyche of the artist in this regard as well. Giorgio Vasari writes that Raphael could not dedicate himself fully to his work at Villa Chigi because of his infatuation for his mistress.[140] While Raphael drafted the décor for the villa, his patron and friend Agostino managed to have the artist's inamorata live there, providing Raphael the incentive to go to work each day. The patron himself used his villa as an escape from the

[139] Rowland 1998, 181.

public world to meet with his mistress, and later wife, Venetian, Francesca Ordeaschi**,** a highly respected, well educated, and well-travelled public figure.[141]

Unit of Chigi, della Rovere, and Medici, even more In addition to his mistress Francesca, Chigi had a courtesan by the name of Imperia Cognati. The epithet for Chigi's courtesan Imperia was *La Divina,* the divine. She was described as a goddess.[142] The facial features of Imperia and Francesca could very well match those figures of the frescoes. Raphael fuses the living present with the past, the contemporary and ancient. In a lofty mood of playful reverie, the narrative of the loggia interior provides an insight into the consciousness of the Renaissance, as patron and artist craft a space between ancient and modern Rome.

The rival banking families, the Medici and Chigi, merged with Villa Chigi, as its patron opened his doors to the Medici pope.[143] The Villa Chigi plan, therefore, references the design Michelozzo at Fiesole. Just as his patron knew the Medici so too Baldassare Peruzzi knew their commissions. The Medici villas Fiesole and Poggio a Caiano particularly influenced the Roman villa's design and decoration.

In early 16th-century Rome, Sienese banker Agostino Chigi transferred his professional activities from his urban palazzo on the *via dei Banchi* to his suburban villa, at his retreat on *via Lungara* in Trastevere. (Figs. 41 & 42) The Villa Chigi, served several

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[141] Linda Wolk-Simon, ""Rapture to the Greedy Eye:" Profane Love in the Renaissance" in *Art and Love in the Renaissance*, Andrea Bayer, ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 43.
[142] Georgina Masson, *Courtesans of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1975), 36.
[143] Ludwig von Pastor. *The History of Popes* Vol. VIII (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1908),119.

functions for its wealthy patron, operating in the public and private realm.[144] Chigi conflated his *negotium* and *otium* in his villa on the Tiber as a deliberate socio-political and cultural move both asserting his status as the wealthiest man of the Roman Renaissance and wooing clients in his lush villa. The central space of the home, the garden loggia, displays the spread of the architectural type from in and around Florence into Rome. (fig. 43b) The fundamentals of classical architecture had already been strongly emphasized; they influenced Agostino Chigi not only aesthetically but also politically, as he sought to seduce a Medici pope as client for his bank, *his negotium*. Villa Chigi was a low-hanging fruit, as patron was successful in all his pursuits for his residence.

Villa Chigi became Agostino's primary residence in 1511. To Agostino Chigi, no room was delineated for specific purpose. The home functioned as a banking facility as well as residence, distinguishing Chigi from other bankers in Rome, who lived on the *piano nobile* of *palazzi* above, but separate from their *botteghe* at street-level.[145] At his villa, Chigi met his clients on its ground floor like an ancient Roman *paterfamilias* in his Domus.[146] The old palazzi in the bankers' quarter of Parione were now in his past, and the wealthy patron reveled in his lavish home on the Tiber.[147] The patron's three *otia:* love, antiquity, and papal business, made for an unusual fusion of uses for Chigi's villa. The first of its kind in the Renaissance, Villa Chigi became a model for future patrons.

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[144] In 1579, the Chigi family sold the Villa Chigi to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who renamed it the Villa Farnesina, not to be confused with the ancient Villa Farnesina. The Roman Renaissance villa is located in Trastevere on the Tiber River.
[145] The organization was much like the architecture and operations of Palazzo Davanzati in *quattrocento* Florence.
[146] Rowland 1998, 181.
[147] Rowland 1998, 181.

Chigi's villa, close in vicinity to the Vatican, would provide an escape for Julius II. Chigi often received the Pope as guest in his *villa suburbana* for evening or overnight retreats from the Vatican Palace. Pope Julius II found entertainment in the recently completed suburban Villa Chigi of his dear friend, Agostino Chigi, persuaded by Pope Leo X, decided to marry Francesca Ordeaschi. The wedding, held at the banker's villa, consisted of a great feast. Thirteen cardinals as well as the pope took part in the revelry. During the ceremony, Chigi held the finger of the bride while the marriage ring was being placed on it, which for the time was unheard of. For the festivities after the wedding, Chigi spared no expense for the most extravagant foods from all over the world.[148]

Winged boys with helmets and shields, harps and reed pipes, fly around the lunettes and spandrels of the loggia.[149] Accompanied by exotic animals, in addition to the birds, such as crocodiles, lions, and sea horses, the *putti* reference Peruzzi's exterior design just below the roof of the villa. The narrative of Psyche continues all around. All decoration builds up to the Wedding Scene on the ceiling, where all has been resolved and Cupid and Psyche marry..The event almost mirrored the workshop of Raphael's lavish ceiling frescoes, where the gods and goddess gather around an abundant tablescape. Truly, the only difference being that the guests of Chigi's wedding were clothed while several of the pagan deities at the *Wedding Feast* are not.

Agostino Chigi subsequently entertained the Pope quite often. The banker merged his *negotium* with his *otium* in order to seduce Leo X. Direct influence from the form of Fiesole and the decoration with Poggio, the villa spoke to the Medici pope. Chigi's villa

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[148] Pastor,1908 (Vol VIII) 118.
[149] Ettore Camesasca, ed. tr. Paul Colacicchi, *All the Frescoes of Raphael*, Part I & II. (New York: Hawthorn Books Inc., 1963), 11.

placement and the functions it served, however, varied from Leo X's relative's rural oases. At a banquet thrown in Chigi's honor for his birthday, the plate in front of each guest had an engraved coat of his own individual arms. Villa Chigi, the idyllic dwelling-place, half town-mansion, half country-house. The *feste* in and around Agostino Chigi's garden loggia paralleled the luxury of imperial Ancient Rome.

Further, the steps of Chigi's loggia, in front of the bays separating outside from inside, are often described as a theatrical stage.[150] Productions debuted on the loggia steps as one of the many forms of entertainment at Chigi's elaborate banquets.[151] At one of his extravagant events in a second loggia on the river, which no longer exists due to sixteenth-century flooding of the Tiber, a famous event occurred.[152] Agostino commissioned Cesarino Rosetti, goldsmith, in a contract in November of 1510, to make plates with flowers in half relief. These plates of silver and gold were intended for one of the famous banquets of Agostino. Immersed in ancient ideas of luxury, Agostino Chigi presented himself as an illusion.[153] At the banquets held at his home, as a demonstration of his unrelenting wealth, he convinced guests to toss their plates of silver and gold into the Tiber after every course.[154] What the guests were blatantly unaware of, however, was the patron, Chigi had his servants on the ready to retrieve the dishware from the river with nets.[155]

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[150] Coffin 1979, 49.
[151] Villas gardens offer spaces for *spettacoli* and sculpture. The garden podium of the Villa Chigi, enclosed on three sides by the building, was intended to serve as theatrical stage for open-air performances. Performance was oftentimes held in courts of urban palaces, where upper loggias would offer additional viewing areas for the spectators and the arcaded loggias would suggest the *scaenae frons* of an ancient theater. The garden loggia at Villa Chigi adapts the tradition as a space for entertainment. Coffin 1979, 94.
[152] Coffin 1979, 97.
[153] Fischel 1948, 177.
[154] Pastor 1908 (Vol VIII) 117.
[155] Coffin 1979, 97.

Giorgio Vasari described Chigi's villa as "not built but truly born" from the soil. The villa was linked to its patron and its site at birth.[156] His command over his wealth and status during the Roman Renaissance was unprecedented. The eternal city has offered emblematic definitions for the typology of both the palazzo and the villa forms.[157] The villa in Trastevere is a turning point in Renaissance villa ideology.

A papal banquet was held at Chigi's villa on the Feast of St. Lawrence.[158] The gathering celebrated the baptism of Agostino's second son, Lorenzo Leone, whose second name was given in honor of the Pope, Leo X, and his first name in honor of the Pope's nephew Lorenzo de'Medici, who had died earlier that year.[159]

Moreover, Baldassare Peruzzi's fresco in the Sala delle Perspettive of the *Colonnnato con Veduta Cittadina*, c. 1510 is a refrain on the motif of liminal space in Villa Chigi. (fig. 45a) Though beyond the scope of the essay, Peruzzi's painted detail reinforces the aims of the villa, as one of the first frescoes completed in the residence. The fresco extends the room onto the illusion of a balcony overlooking the city. With four columns and a statue set into the wall on either side, the fresco by Peruzzi exemplifies the private and the public realm in the patron's command over the city, even from within the confines of his remote room. The marble depicted in Peruzzi's frescoes mimics that of the stone within the villa.

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[156] In the Renaissance, the connections that one felt with one's city and one's buildings and seem to have been more physical than we understand and to have included environmental and biological implications that we miss. The fates of people, their cities, and their homes were believed to depend in part on cosmic events that had occurred centuries earlier when the planets and stars had influenced the impressments of Form into the geographic and physical substances. Mary Quinlan-McGrath *Influences: Art, Optics, and Astrology in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 116-17.

[157] Caroline Vincenti Montanaro and Andrea Fasolo, *Palazzi and Villas of Rome* (Verona: Arsenale Editrice, 2001), 34.

[158] St. Lawrence was the patron saint of food, cooking, and festival, a fitting saint day in regard to the Villa Chigi.

[159] Coffin 1979, 108.

An assortment of colored marble is set into the floor of the garden loggia, as well as into the artist-architect's painting of a liminal space.

To conclude, Agostino's Villa Chigi fuses the centralized loggia of Fiesole with the painted portico of Poggio a Caiano to create a villa and loggia hospitable to his *otium* embedded in his negotium. With direct inspiration from the Medici villas of the Florentine countryside, Chigi collaborated with fellow Sienesian, Baldassare Peruzzi, and the artistic workshop of Raffaelo Sanzio to produce his *villa suburbana.* The Medici and Chigi dynasties were by far the wealthiest in the entire Italian peninsula during the Renaissance. With his villa, Chigi sought to unify and supersede the extravagance of the Florentine types. Chigi's relationships to the popes of the *cinquecento* catapulted his name into the greatest success. His skill at *negotium*, and *otium,* allowed him to continue his role as papal banker with the son of his former rival bank. In and of itself a showcase for wealth as manifest in lavish banquets and gathering, Villa Chigi showcased its owner as patron of the arts. Intertwined in the architecture, Baldassare Peruzzi, Raffaello, and a cohort of artists brought their expertise to the Villa Chigi. Raphael and Giovanni da Udine's mythical scenes and bowers elegantly adorn the loggia, the emblem of the villa as a liminal space of mixed function and form, for pleasure and work, of indoor and outdoor, while referencing the past to move into the future.

Conclusion

After Agostino Chigi cultivated a rapport in business and pleasure with Pope Leo X (1475-1521), born Giovanni di Lorenzo de'Medici, the fruits of the High Renaissance ripened even further in architecture and decoration. Villa Chigi's Loggia di Psyche merged the architectural ideals of the Medici villa at Fiesole with the decoration of the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano. Because of Agostino's Villa Chigi, an onslaught of Renaissance patrons sought to mimic the design ideals of the papal banker's loggia and surrounding rooms. Tropes of classical antiquity rooted in the mythological, as well as love and bounty, coat the walls in vibrant fresco. At Chigi's villa, the notable papal banker not only secured banking accounts but also influenced papal commissions.

The determination of the Renaissance popes, cardinals, and the like to organize the topography of Roman streets and erect buildings for ecclesiastical or earthly and personal gain played a large role in the commission of suburban and rural villas.[160] Another figure of antiquarian interests, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (1478-1534) commissioned the grandest of the decorated villas. The cousin to Leo X, Giulio de' Medici became Pope in 1523 as Clement VII; he shared the tastes of his cousin and was a worldly humanist, surrounding himself with artists and Roman men of letters such as Chigi. As Cardinal, the Medici relative commissioned Raphael to design and erect the Villa Madama.[161] (fig. 46) With rural and suburban villas as well as urban *palazzi* in his family lineage, together with inspiration from the Villa Chigi, construction on a villa outside of the Leonine Walls of Rome began in

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[160] Eamon Duffy, Saints & Sinners, A History of the Popes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 133-34.

[161] The building eventually became known as the Villa Madama for Margaret of Austria, who acquired the building in 1536, through her marriage to Alessandro de' Medici. W.E. Greenwood, Villa Madama Rome (New York: William Helburn Inc., 1928), 15. James Cleugh, *The Medici: A Tale of Fifteen Generations*. New York: Dorset Press, 1975), 32.

1518, just eight years after Villa Chigi was completed, and in the same years as the decoration of Pope Leo X's Vatican loggie, 1518-19. In the Vatican Palace, Raphael worked in the apartments of Julius II and Leo X.[162] The decorated loggias within were entirely private. Complete with lush depictions of the natural, inspiration from *grotteschi* and mythology, as well as Old Testament narrative, the Vatican loggias of the Medici also mark the final transition of the loggia as public to private space. Giulio de' Medici's residence, north of the Vatican, does the same and extracts from villa models of its neighbors and from antiquity. The loggia at Madama is a clear expression of *villeggiatura*; in the open-air and closed shelter. (fig. 47)

Master artist Raphael elevated to great heights in the *cinquecento,* with commissions from in and around the papacy. Bramante's death in 1514 led to Raphael taking on the architect's projects in addition to his already full plate of patronage. Raphael is working on the loggia at the Vatican apartments in addition to this northern retreat. (fig. 48a) With Giuliano da Sangallo (1445-1516) and Fra Giocondo (1433-1515), Raphael continued the new Saint Peter's.[163] It is no wonder why or how Giulio de' Medici landed on Raphael for the commission of his extravagant villa. Like Villa Chigi, the Villa Madama of the Medici brought together the minds and talent of a great assortment of Renaissance artists and architects. (fig. 48)

Raphael and his team, especially Giovanni da Udine (1487-1564) and Giulio Romano (1499-1546), adorned the Medici villa. Vasari writes in his "Life of Giulio Romano" that Cardinal Giulio de' Medici commissioned Romano to put the idea of an estate

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[162] John Shearman, "The Apartments of Julius II and Leo X" in *Raphael in the Apartments of Julius II and Leo X* ed. Roberto Caravaggi (Milano: Electa, 1993), 46.
[163] David R Coffin, "The Plans of the Villa Madama" The Art Bulletin, Vol. 49, No. 2 (New York: College Art Association, June 1967), 111.

at the slope of Monte Mario into action, complete with loggias, gardens, and waterworks.[164] In its grandiosity, the loggia at the villa provides a multi-faceted dialogue on the period, explicitly highlighting references to classical design and architecture in relation to wealth and power over Rome.

Giulio de' Medici's Villa Madama is located north of Rome at edge of Monte Mario. The Roman residence signifies the family's epic return. Villa Madama exercises the elements of previous Florentine and Roman loggia types into a fantastic villa with colossal loggias and terraced gardens. The villa is strategically placed above Rome, on the road from Florence. This positioning of the villa demonstrates the command the Medici have sought and conquered over the major Renaissance cities of Italy. (figure 48b)

It seems like all notable artists of the period had a hand in the construction or decoration of Villa Madama. Surely, the same group that worked on Agostino Chigi's villa were all present at Giulio de' Medici's Madama. While Raphael's workshop ornamented the Cardinal's residence, he worked diligently on the Vatican loggias. After the death of Raphael in 1520, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1485-1546) completed the architectural work on the Villa Madama and by 1525; it was finished in all its glory.[165]

The plan of the suburban Villa Madama rivaled not only contemporary villas but also those from antiquity, especially Pliny's descriptions of his own villa. (fig. 48 &49) Villa Madama was an attempt to build a decorated classical villa with a circular court, an atrium, and more.[166] The enormous residence served two purposes that merged quite often: a center for entertainment and parties as well as a welcome center for diplomats before they

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[164] Giorgio Vasari, tr. George Bull, *Artists of the Renaissance: A Selection from Lives of the Artists* (New York: The Viking Press, 1978), 226-27. W.E. Greenwood 1928, 16.
[165] Coffin 1967, 110-11.
[166] Peter Murray, Architecture of the Renaissance (New York, Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1971), 183.

made their ceremonial entrances on business into the city. The blending of *otium* with *negotium* at Villa Madama continues the theme from Villa Chigi.[167]

The loggia of the Villa Madama was the closest approximation to the appearance of Imperial Roman architecture in Renaissance design. The monumental three-bay loggia, in which two huge groin vaulted areas frame a central domed space, above giant niched piers. The cupolas of the loggia rise to the sky, to luminous heights. Raphael's background in painting affords itself to the secular villa, opening up into the landscape, through the ornamented pillars of the loggia. The liminal loggia integrates ancient villa ideals in this way, as the indoor and outdoor function in harmony.[168]

Villa Madama not extracts influence from Medici ancestors, Chigi, and antiquity. The opulence of the villa, especially its garden loggia, evokes Imperial architecture in and around the Forum, such as the Basilica of Maxentius, began for Emperor Maxentius in 308 and completed by Constantine c. 312. (fig. 50) With its sequence of domed vaults, followed by groin vaults, the design would have been unusual even in a church. The dome used in post-antique residential architecture was unprecedented and the grandiose implementation of it at Villa Madama asserts the patron's power, the Medici staking their claim over Rome. Also, the loggia at Madama is a clear expression of *villeggiatura*, in the open-air and closed shelter.

The intricate design and color scheme Raphael and company designed for the integrated fresco and stucco ornament of the loggia of the Villa Madama, executed by Giulio Romano and other artists in the *fabbrica,* and coated the ceilings and walls of the garden

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[167] Villa Madama serves the same purpose today. Owned by the Italian government, the villa is used to host dinner, press conferences, as well as housing for notable International guests.
[168] Oskar Fischel, *Raphael*. tr. from German by Bernard Rackham (London: Spring Books, 1948), 164.

loggia. A direct evocation of the *grotteschi* under Rome, of which Raphael and his workshop of the antique were very much aware, the decoration was based on the close study of the ornament and architecture of the Domus Aurea, Emperor Nero's "Golden House," c. 64-68 AD, decorated in fourth-style fresco complete with wall paintings, mosaics, and stucco.[169] (fig. 49) In fact, Giovanni da Udine's stucco bas-relief in Madama imitates the work in the then recently discovered Domus. The Flavian Emperor's residence was a landscaped portico villa. The Renaissance villas that Raphael and his team were associated with utilized the *grotteschi all'antica* below ground in Rome.

As vigna at the entrance point into the Vatican borgo, on the northern end of Rome, Giulio's villa functioned as an advertisement for visitors of the splendor of the Medici-ruled Renaissance Rome. Though it was not excavated until the mid-sixteenth century, and later rediscovered in the nineteenth-twentieth century, the *Ara Pacis,* commissioned by the Roman Senate in July of 13 BC, served a similar function. The Augustan Altar of Peace stood in confident marble as a perpetual offering to Roman citizens. Mimicking past altars that were erected in wood, the *Ara Pacis* serves as preview to Roman glory; as visitors approached the city, the marble structure acted as an iconographic symbol for the golden age of Rome. (fig. 51) First under Romulus, Imperial Rome under Augustus signified a new era of peace. The open-air altar at center of the *Ara Pacis* is surrounded by precinct walls that are open on either side. The marble structure is decorated in relief with a plethora of flora and fauna on garlands, an array of animals, as well as the lineage of Agrippa and Augustus. The entirety of the marble structure was once painted as well.[170] (fig. 51a)

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[169] W.E. Greenwood 1928, 14.

[170] Paul Zanker, tr. Alan Shapiro, *The power of images in the Age of Augustus*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 12.

The Renaissance villa of Giulio de'Medici serves a similar purpose, at the foot of Monte Mario. On the road into Rome and the Vatican from the north, the wealthy Medici's grandiose villa suggests the splendor of Rome in hierarchal scale. Consciously evoking Ancient Rome, the Medici family, in and around the Vatican, return to the forefront of Italian politics, economics, and artistic patronage in *cinquecento* Rome. Leo X and Giulio, later Clement VII, reclaim their power in Rome, away from the Sienese Agostino Chigi. Though unaware of this connection, Villa Madama and the *Ara Pacis* relate heavily and illuminate the parallel between the Renaissance and Ancient Rome. Leo X and Giulio, later Clement VII, reclaim their power in Rome, away from the Sienese Agostino Chigi.

This project followed the trajectory of the loggia in Renaissance architecture. In and around the indoor-outdoor space, the wealthy patrons of the *quattro-* and *cinquecento* employ their *negotium* and *otium.* Oftentimes, these themes, which derive from ancient villa culture, are intermingled, as finance and politics inform the patron's social standing and afford artistic commissions. The overarching tropes within the decorated loggias derive from classical antiquity, as the Renaissance was yet another golden age drawing from the ideals of Imperial Rome.[171]

[171] An final note: On the drive to campus from my Red Hook apartment every day of this academic school year, I passed Linden Middle School. The street facade of the public school matches that of Agostino Chigi's villa, with a central loggia, and two wings jutting out from either side. Based on this twentieth century revival taking shape in American secondary school building, I cannot help but wonder, perhaps the architectural space of the loggia has returned to its function as a public space.

Images | Figures

Figure 1. Detail of Giovanni da Udine's garlands on the ceiling, vaults, and spandrels of Agostino Chigi's villa, c. 1510. (Jules Janick, "Fruits and Nuts of the Villa Farnesina." *Arnoldia* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Horticulture, 2006.)

Figure 2. The ceiling frescoes of the garden loggia at Villa Chigi (Villa Farnesina) by Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, with assistance from other apprentices. (villafarnesina.it)

Figure 3. Loggia dei Priori (later Loggia dei Lanzi) c. 1376-82, Florence, photograph by Ralph Lieberman, 2009

Figure 4: Palazzo Davizzi (later Palazzo Davanzati) The three-bay street entrance, where the wooden doors are located. (The top-story colonnaded porch/loggia as well as the crest at center of the second story were not in existence during Davizzi ownership.), photograph by Ralph Lieberman, 2009

Figure 5. Palazzo Medici for Cosimo de'Medici c. 1444-48. At bottom left corner, the arch design in the stone denotes one of the two corner entrances of the private-public (florencewebguide.com)

Figure 6. Fig. 3. Giusto Utens (seventeenth-century painter), Lunette painting of Cosimo de' Medici's villa residence, The Villa at Careggi by Michelozzo Michelozzi

Figure 7. Giusto Utens, Fresco Painting of Villa Medici at Fiesole by Michelozzo, commissioned before 1455, southeastern view

Figure 8. Giusto Utens, Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano, 1599. Villa by Giuliano da Sangallo for Lorenzo de'Medici, 1485. (Museo di Firenze com'era)

Figure 9. Back façade of Villa Chigi (later the Villa Farnesina) for Agostino Chigi, c. 1510, Rome; facing north, with loggia garden loggia at center (Academic Nazionale di Lincei; lincei.it)

Figure 10. Palazzo Vecchio 1298-1322 and Loggia dei Priori side by side in Piazza della Signoria, Florence; (Scala Archives, Florence c. 2006)

Figure 11. Piazza della Signoria in Florence, photograph c. 1980. (ArtStor)

Figure 12. View of Loggia dei Priori, toward the Palazzo Vecchio. Florence (Photograph c. 1895, Cornell University Library Collections)

Figure 13. The Virtues of Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, and Prudence inlaid just below pediment, between the three bays o the front façade. (Scala Archives, Florence, 2006)

Figure 14. A fourth bay, the width between Loggia dei Priori and the Palazzo Vecchio (Scala Archives, Florence, 2006)

Figure 14a. Alternate view, On the side of Loggia, between the early Renaissance structure and the Palazzo Vecchio. The interior vaulted ceilings as well as the openness of the loggia are shown. (photograph by Ralph Lieberman, 2009)

Figure 15. Davizzi detail of front; the loggia doors, three arcuated bays; in *quattrocento* Florence, the wooden doors were not a part of the structure. The Davanzati crest had not arrived to the façade either. (photograph by Ralph Lieberman 2009)

Figure 16. Interior of the loggia at Palazzo Davizzi. (*Palazzo Davanzati: A House of Medieval Florence.* Maria Grazia Vaccari, ed. Florence: Giunti Editore S.p.A, 2011.)

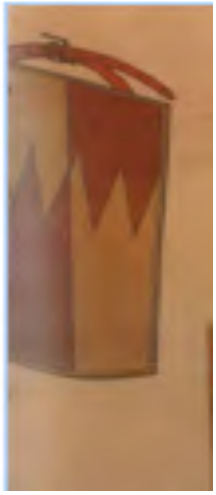


Figure 17. Davizzi crest. (*Palazzo Davanzati: A House of Medieval Florence.* Maria Grazia Vaccari, ed. Florence: Giunti Editore S.p.A, 2011.)

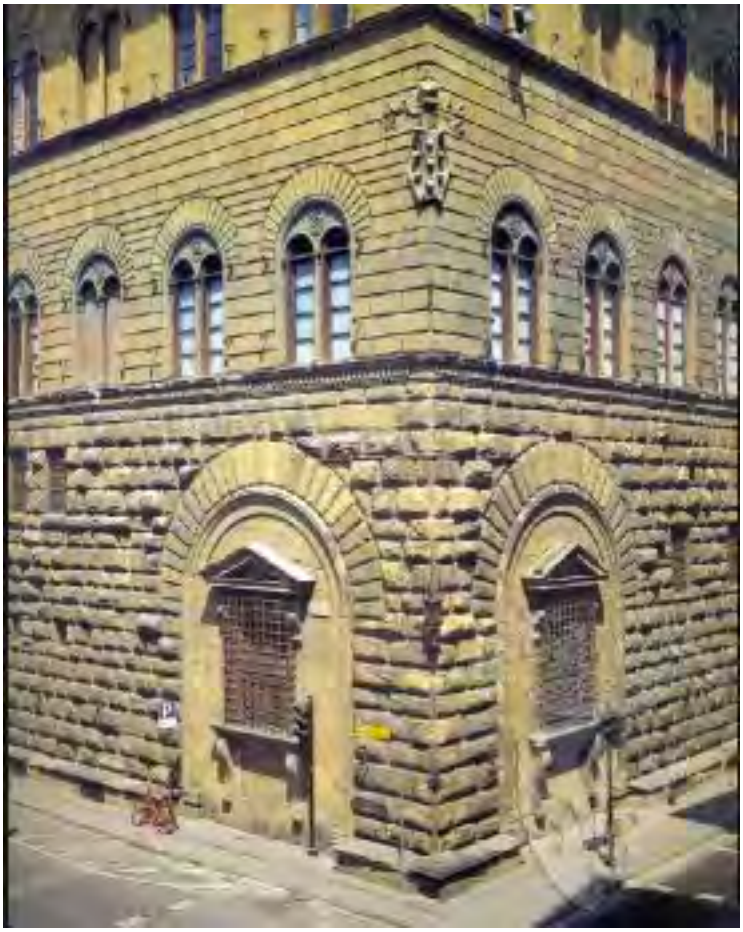


Figure 18. Corner Loggia at Palazzo Medici by Michelozzo for Cosimo, photograph Ralph Lieberman 2009)

Figure 19. Another angle of the corner loggia by Michelozzo for Cosimo, at street level. (Palazzo Medici-Ricardi,it)

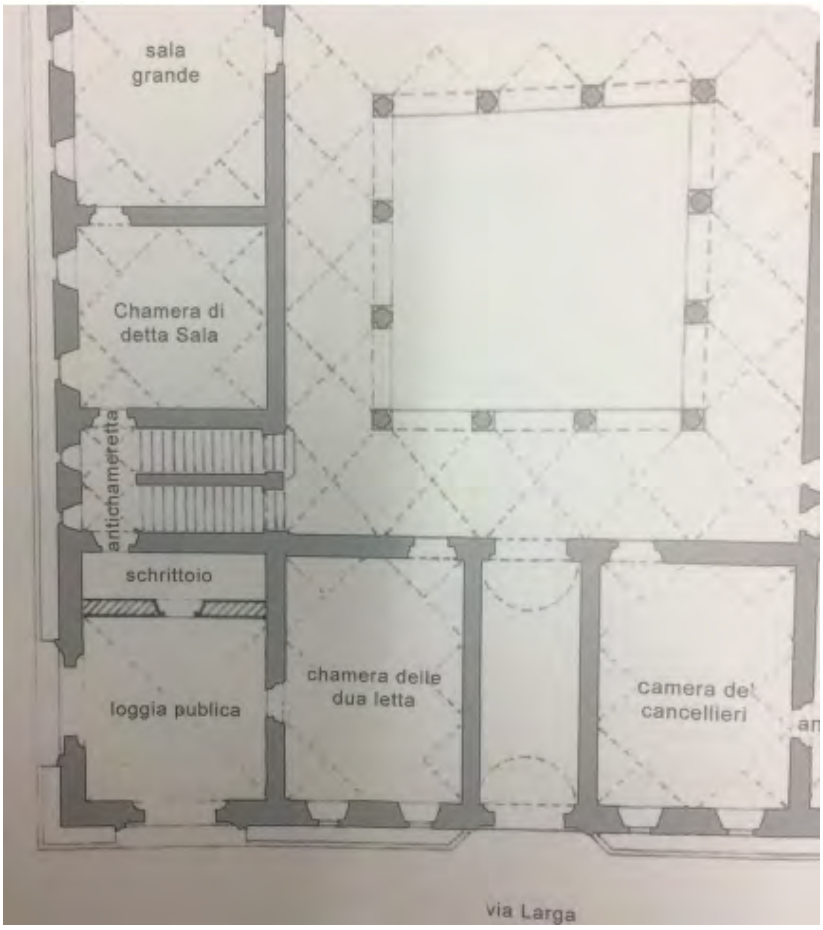


Figure 20. Palazzo Medici; cropped plan to show the corner loggia at bottom left, *la loggia pubblica.* (Bates Lowry, *Renaissance Architecture.* (New York: George Braziller, 1984.)

Figure 21. Medici crest above corner loggia of Palazzo Medici, Michelozzo, Florence
Spheres make up the family crest

Figure 22. Interior Courtyard of the Palazzo Medici, complete with arched peristyle perimeter, and a garland fresco along the pediment, with the Medici crest throughout

Figure 23. Sandro Boticelli, *Primavera,* 1482, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

Fig. 24. Portrait Medal of Cosimo de'Medici, Pater Patriae. C. 1465. Bronze, 3 1/16" (7.8 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Kress Collection). Created by order of the officials of the Commune of Florence.

Fig. 25. Villa Medici at Careggi with architectural renovations by Michelozzo and later patronage. First and second story loggia, overlooking the garden space..

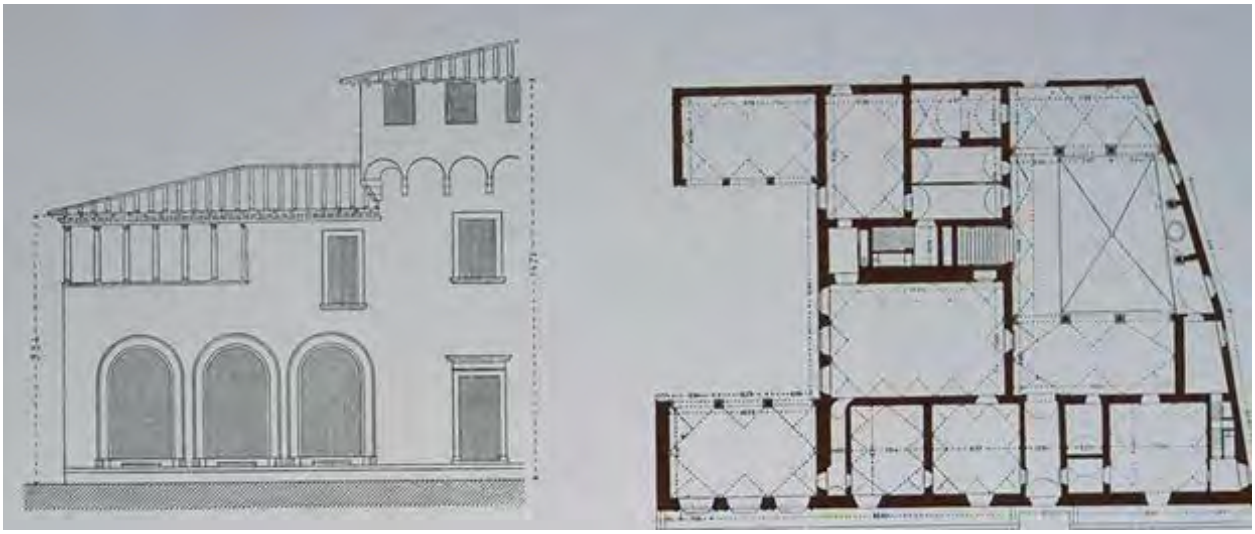


Figure 26. Loggia façade and Floorplan of Villa de'Medici at Careggi, Main and Upper Story Loggias. Far bottom left zone on plan is the loggia at Careggi.

Figure 27. Giuseppe Zocchi (1717-1767), "The Real Villa di Careggi" *Vedute delle ville e d'altri,* 18th century.

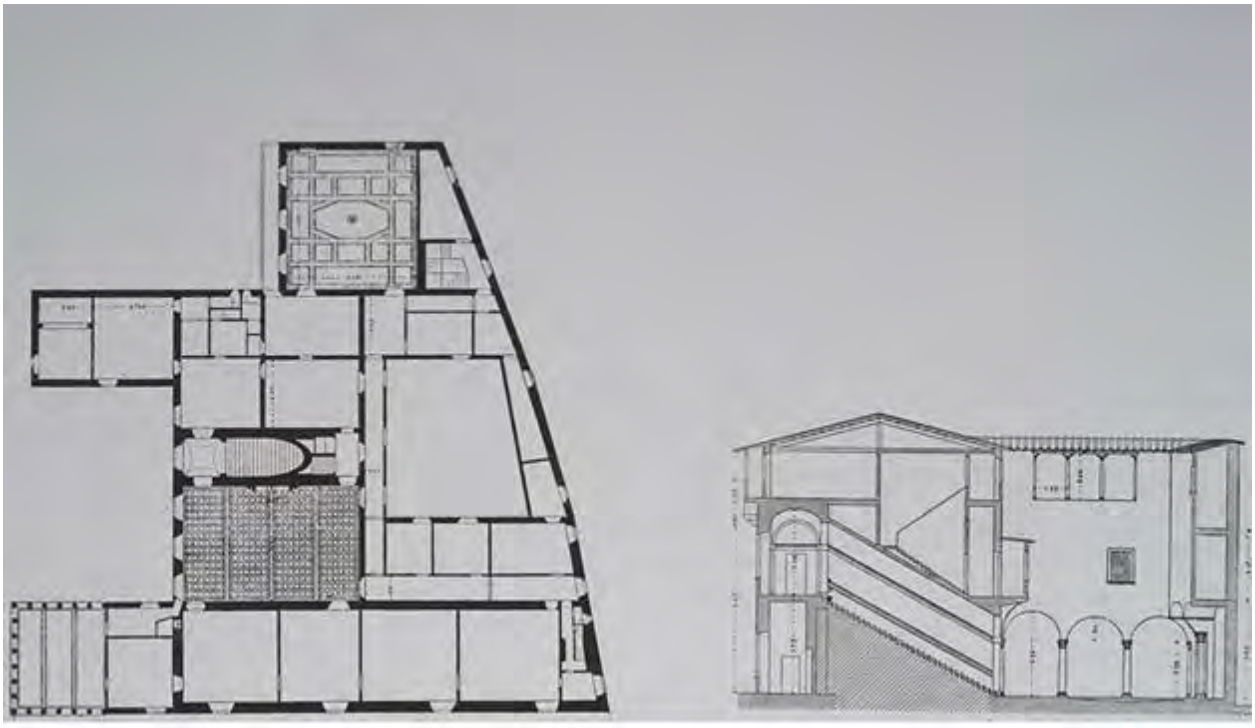


Figure 28. Plan of Villa de' Medici at Careggi by Michelozzo for Cosimo de' Medici. Cornell University Library Architectural drawings.

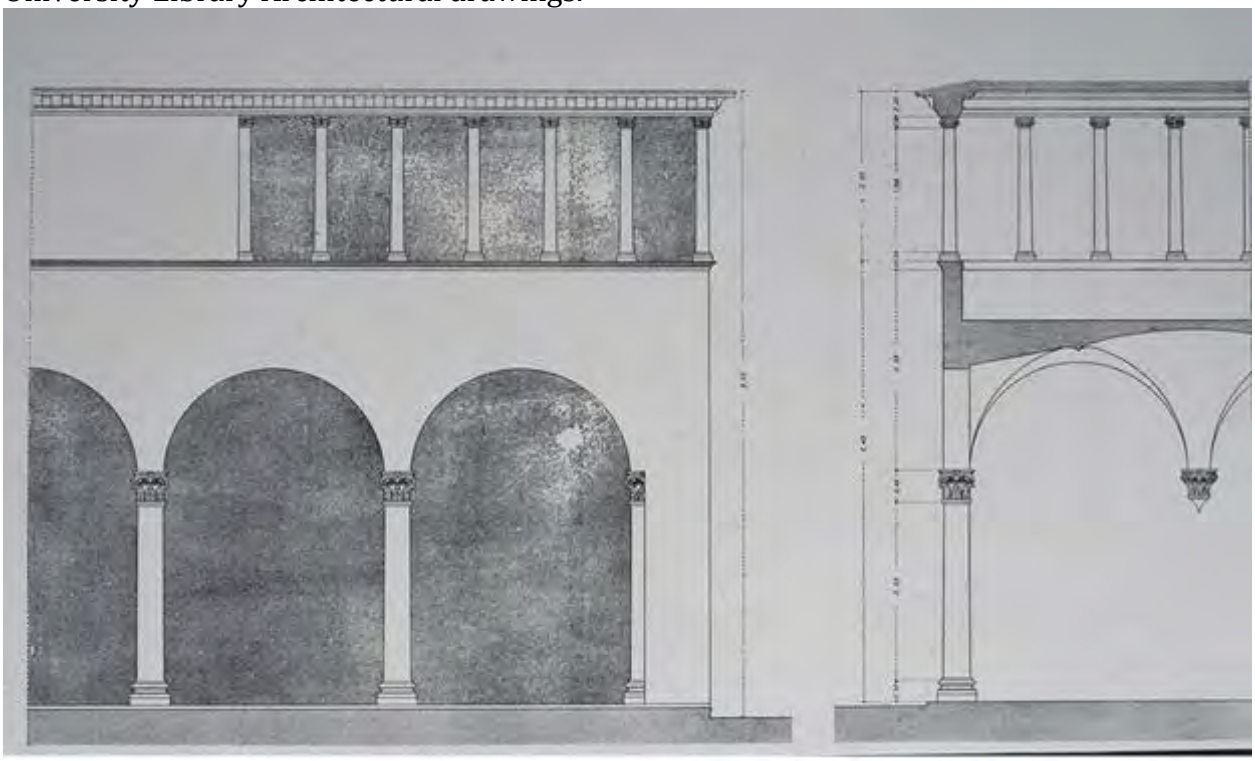


Figure 29. Plan of facade, Villa de' Medici at Careggi, Main and Upper Story Loggias. Cornell University Library Architectural drawings.

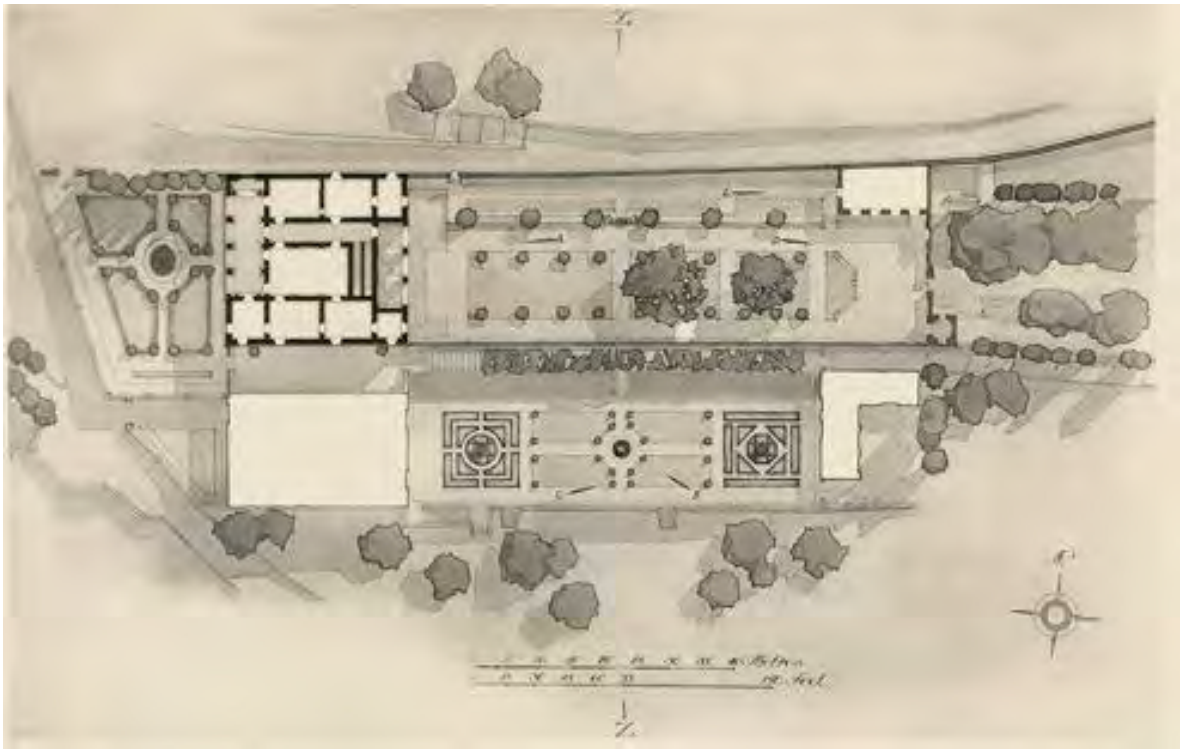


Figure 30. Plan of Villa Medici at Fiesole, by Michelozzo for Cosimo, Cornell University Library Architectural drawings.

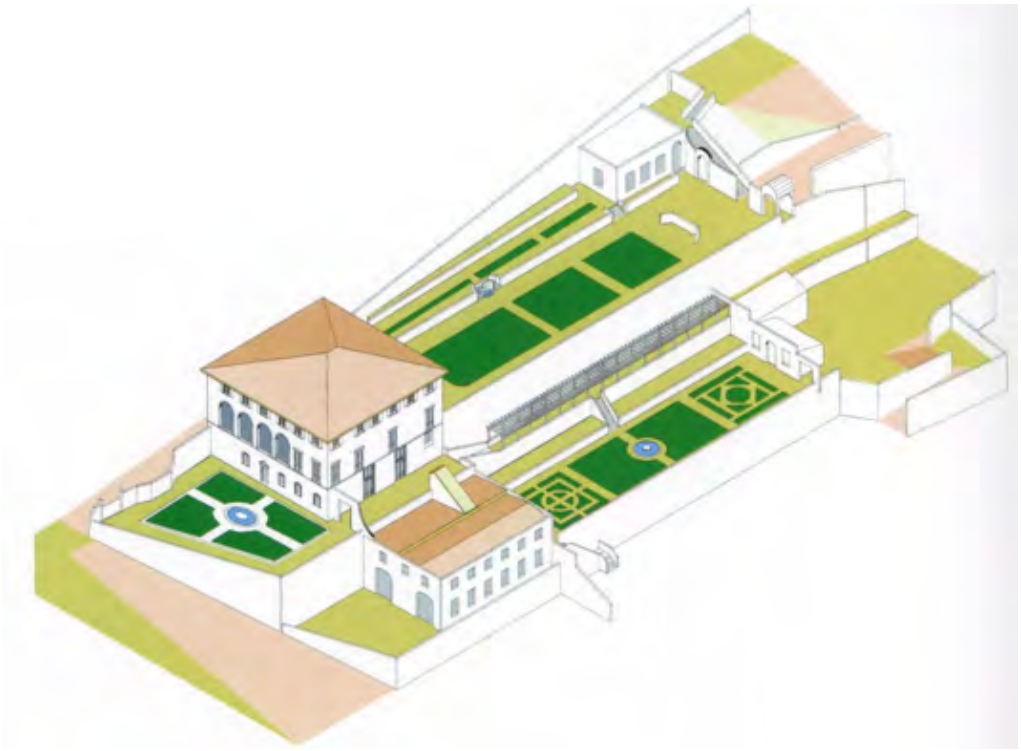


Figure 31. Alternate view of the full grounds of the Medici villa at Fiesole, Cornell University Library Architectural drawings.

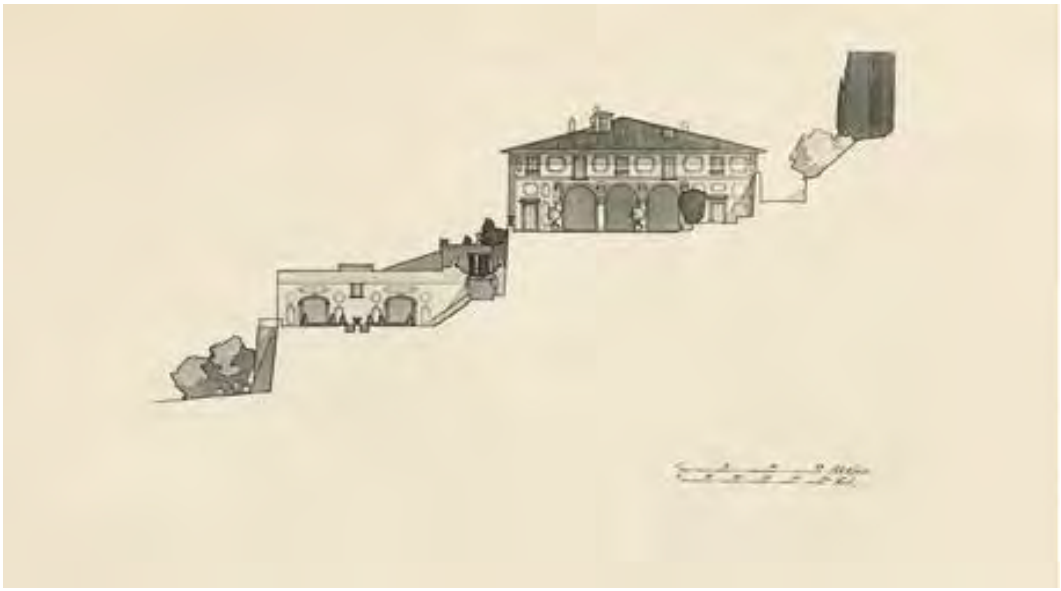


Figure 32. Terraced drawing of the grounds of Villa de' Medici at Fiesole, with villa, loggia, and the descending gardens into the *boscho.*

Figure 33. Villa de' Medici at Fiesole, photograph of villa resting on hill, looking out toward the province and countryside. (villamedicifiesole.it)

Figure 34. Stairs descending from villa into walled-in gardens of Fiesole (villamedicifiesole.it)
Figure 35. View of Giovanni's Fiesole, with three bay loggia peaking out from the brush

Figure 36. Front façade and approach to Poggio a Caiano by da Sangallo c. 1485 for Lorenzo de'Medici (Museums of Florence website)

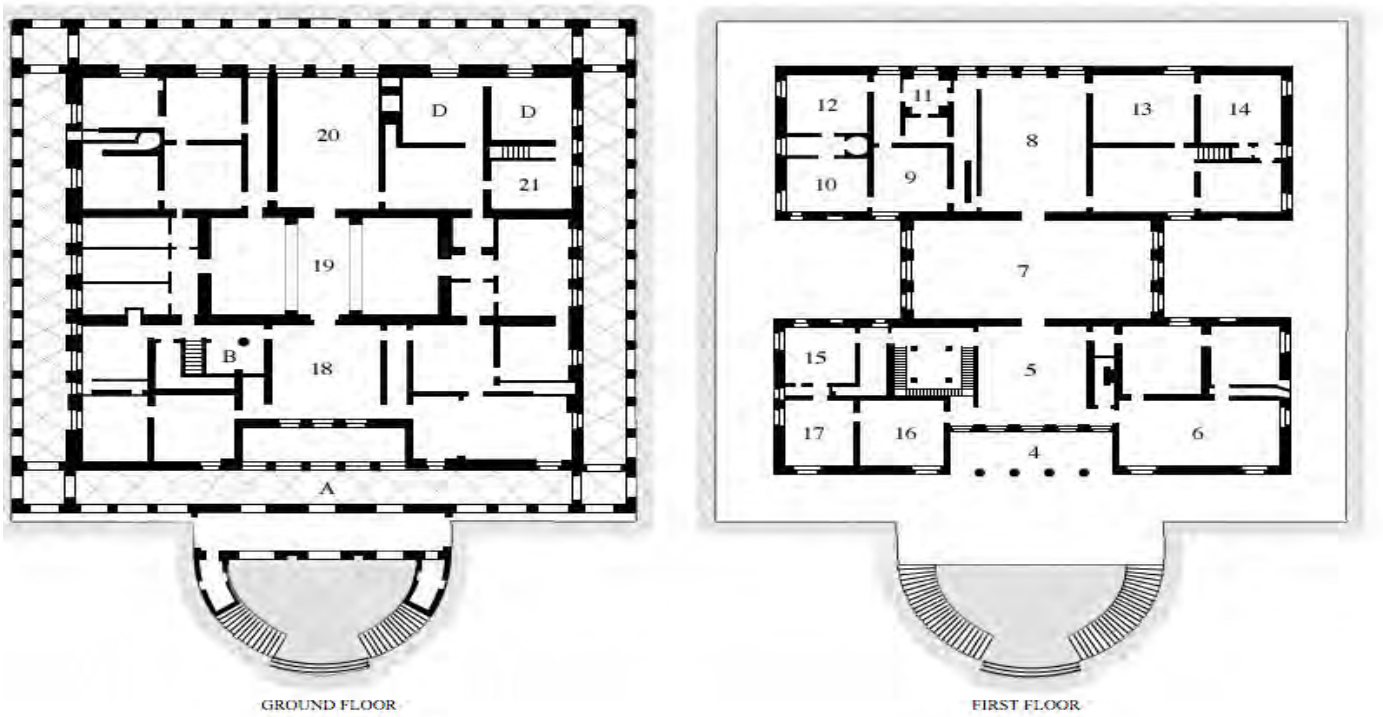


Figure 37. Plan of Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano, by Giuliano da Sangallo for Lorenzo de' Medici 1485. (Museums of Florence website)

Figure 38. Exterior side façade of Poggio a Caiano c. 1485, the villa block rising from the open arcade (The Museums in Florence website)
Figure 39: Detail from inside the open arcade ground level perimeter at Poggio a Caiano c. 1485. (The Museums in Florence website)

Figure 40.

Pontormo with Andrea del Sarto, and Franciabigio *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1519-21. One of the several frescoes within Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano

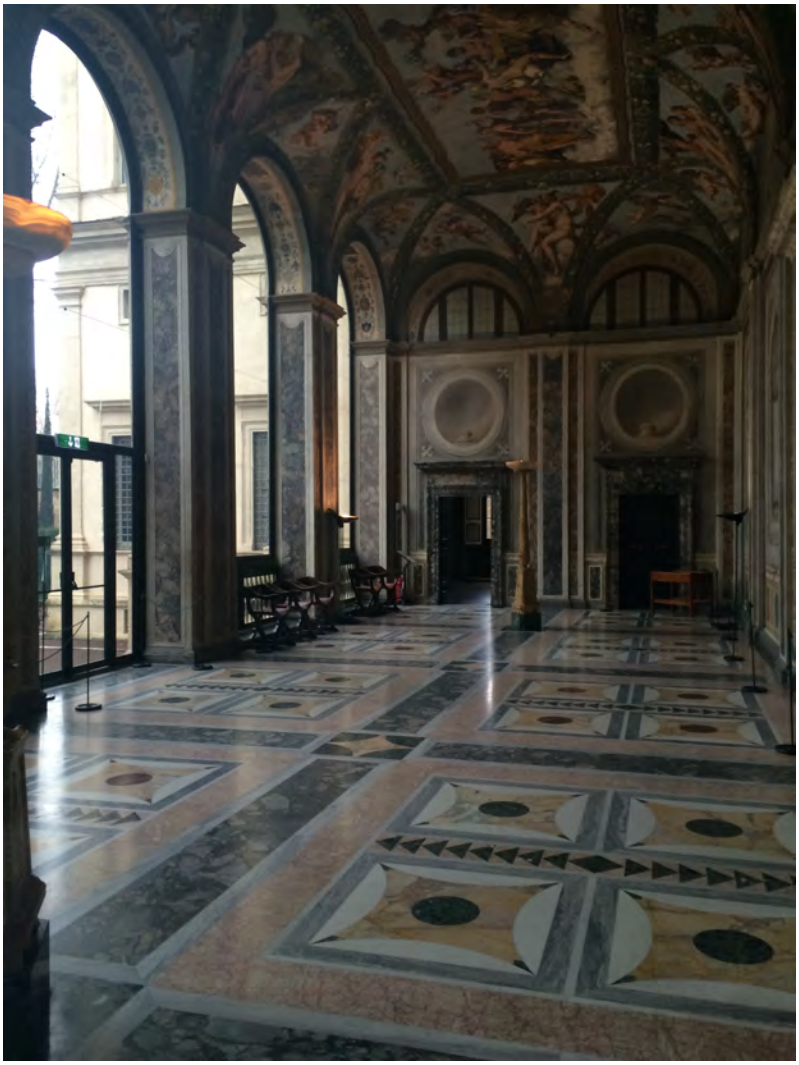
Figure 41. West and South Façade of Villa Chigi by Baldassare Peruzzi for Agostino Chigi (Paolo D'Ancona, *Gli Affreschi della Farnesina in Roma. The Farnesina Frescoes at Rome.* Edizione del Milione, 1955)

Figure 42. North Façade of Villa Chigi by Peruzzi for Agostino Chigi (Paolo D'Ancona, *Gli Affreschi della Farnesina in Roma. The Farnesina Frescoes at Rome.* Edizione del Milione, 1955) [Ref. fig. 9 for color photograph of same façade]

(Paolo D'Ancona, *Gli Affreschi della Farnesina in Roma. The Farnesina Frescoes at Rome.* Edizione del Milione, 1955).

Fig 42a. Chigi and della Rovere crest is situated above the city façade entrance.

Figure 43. The garden loggia at Villa Chigi by Baldassare Peruzzi, adorned by Raphael, Giovanni da Udine, etc. photo by John Cherichello, January 2015.



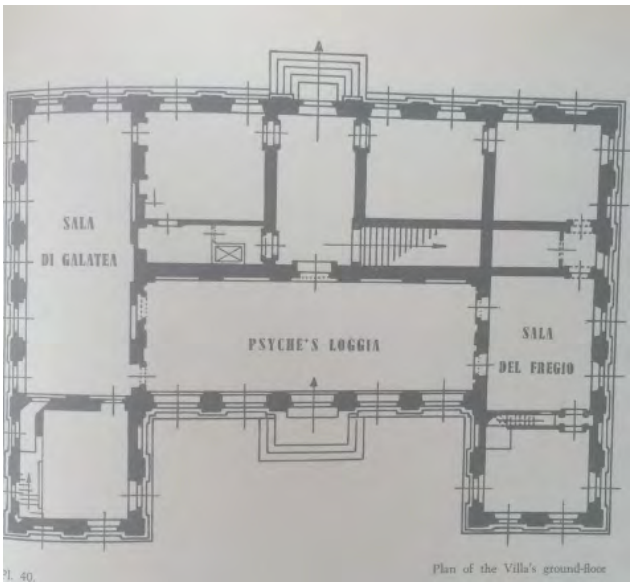


Figure 43b. The plan of the first floor of the Villa Chigi, with loggia at center. (Ettore Camesasca, ed. tr. Paul Colacicchi, *All the Frescoes of Raphael, Part I & II*. New York: Hawthorn Books Inc., 1963)

Figure 44. Raphael's fresco of Cupid and Venus
(Ettore Camesasca, ed. tr. Paul Colacicchi, *All the Frescoes of Raphael, Part I & II*. New York: Hawthorn Books Inc., 1963)

Figure 45. Mercury surrounded by Giovanni da Udine's garlands of phallic fruits (Ettore Camesasca, ed. tr. Paul Colacicchi, *All the Frescoes of Raphael, Part I & II*. New York: Hawthorn Books Inc., 1963)

Figure 45a: Baldassare Peruzzi, Sala di Prospettive, c. 1510
Interior of Villa Farnesina
(Alamy Images)

Figure 46. Rendering of the building and grounds of Villa Madama by Raphael and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, for Giulio de'Medici, c. 1525.

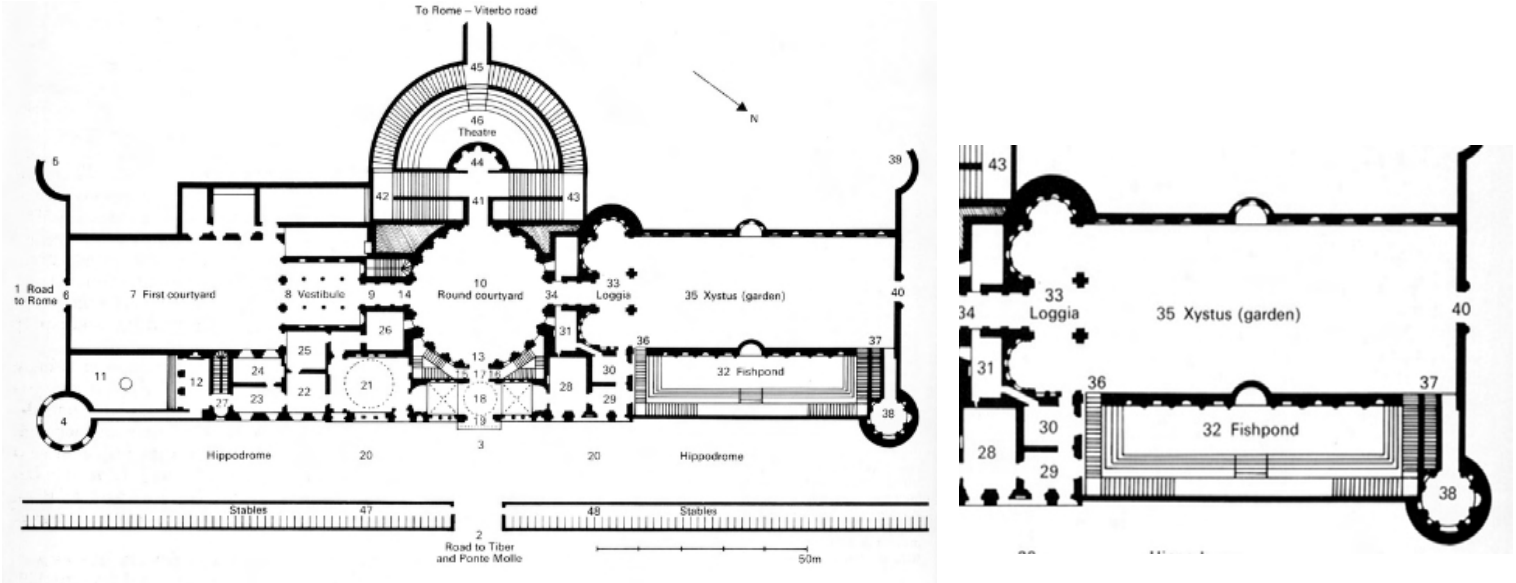


Figure 47. Plan of Villa Madama (with magnified image of rounded loggia, open toward an extended garden) by Raphael for Giulio de'Medici, c. 1525.

Figure 48. Villa Madama by Raphael for Giulio de'Medici, c. 1525
(21st century photo from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs website)

Figure 48a: Loggia interior at Vatican apartments by Raphael for Leo X

Figure 48b: Loggia interior at Villa Madama by Raphael for Leo X. Drawing from the eighteenth century.

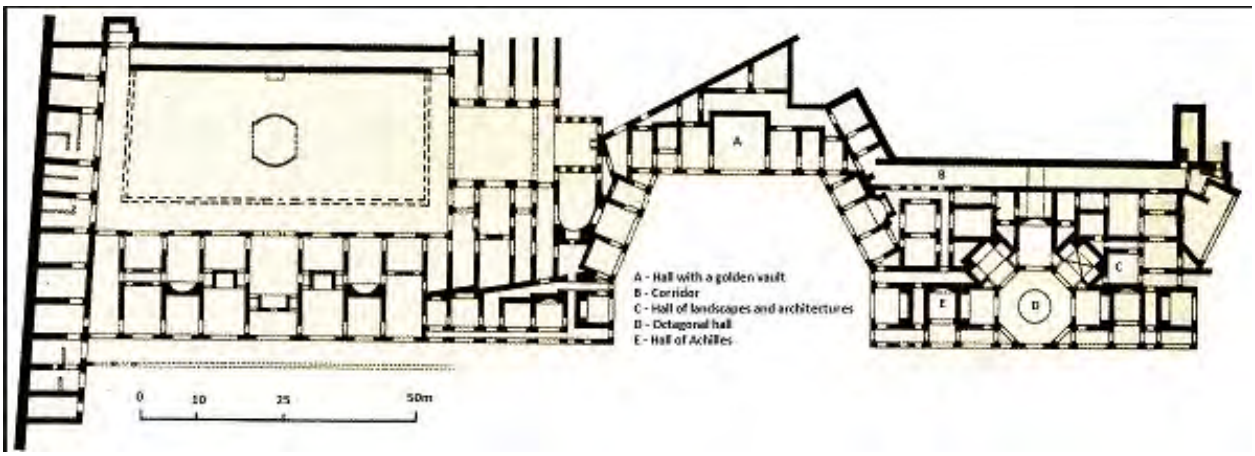


Figure 49. Plan of Ancient Roman Emperor Nero's Domus Aurea, date, cite.

Figure 50. Basilica of Maxentius, c. 306-312 AD (Encyclopedia Britannica)

Figure 51. Ara Pacis, Augustan era 9 BC (Museo dell'Ara Pacis website)

Figure 51a. Garland detail on the interior wall of the Ara Pacis, Augustan era 9 BC (Museo dell'Ara Pacis website)

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